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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

submitted by Clifford J. Jansen

for the degree of Ph. D.

of the Bath University of Technology

1968

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A b s t r a c t

Until a question on internal migration was included in the census, vague assumptions were made about drifts of the population and the effects of these on gaining and losing areas. This study attempts to show that drifts of the population, in a modern industrial society, are the exception to the rule. In fact, almost equal numbers of persons are 'exchanging' between areas and these persons tend to have similar characteristics.

Because of this the largest proportion of migrants move between urban centres and no longer from rural to urban centres. Migration rates are high among persons who are well educated and who have career-type jobs. Persons in career and similar-type jobs expect to have to move frequently during the career cycle and consider advantages gained from each move in relative rather than absolute terms: relative to past, but also to possible future advantages. These persons are also less likely to seek mere instrumental advantages from their work situation.

The change in the nature of modern-day migratory moves has a special effect on social mobility. Migrants into a large city no longer serve to facilitate upward social mobility of city dwellers but appear to compete actively with them for high status positions. Part of the reason for this is that many migrants have spent most of their lives in other large cities. But even those coming from small towns and rural areas appear to have better chances of upward social mobility than city natives who never move.

Finally, it appears that the element of force in migrations in a modern industrial society is on the decline and that migration today is more a function of career pattern and life-cycle variables.

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P R E F A C E

This study was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council and carried out at Bath University of Technology, between January 1965 and December 1967. The grant was originally awarded to Dr. A.H. Richmond, now Professor of Sociology at York University in Toronto, who at the time was Reader in Sociology at Bristol College of Science and Technology (the present Bath University) and head of its Sociological Research Unit. Although Dr. Richmond left this project at the end of the first year I am deeply indebted to him for its initiation and his constant interest in its progress.

Dr. Richmond has always had a lively interest in the social aspects of both international and internal migration. In the conclusion to his study of "Post-War Immigrants in Canada" he queried the continued emphasis placed on 'one-way drifts' of the population in modern industrial societies, since his data on international movements of the population, showed that net migration was only a small proportion of gross migratory moves. This is also the theme of the present study, but applied to internal migratory movements of the population. The present author, however, takes full responsibility for conclusions drawn here.

Dr. S. Cotgrove, when taking up his post as Professor of Sociology at Bath University also became Investigator of the present project. I am very grateful for his great interest and very helpful suggestions, given especially at the writing up stage of the project.

In the interim period between the time Dr. Richmond left and Dr. Cotgrove took over, Dr. R.P. Srivastava, now Senior Lecturer at Simon Fraser University, Canada, acted as Investigator; and I express my thanks to him as well. I also wish to express my thanks to Dr. G. Millerson of the University of Bristol, as external examiner of the thesis.

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Clifford J. Jansen,
Bath University of Technology.

December 1967.

Chapter I.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION.

A question concerning internal migration covering one year, was included for the first time in the 1961 sample census of Britain. (1) Results show that only 1 in 8 of the population of England and Wales were still living at the address at which they were born. Nearly 10% of the population had moved in one year 5.1% moving within Local Authority areas and 4.7% migrating between them. Just over one million persons moved between counties while 725,000 had moved between the 10 Standard Regions of England and Wales.

Besides throwing light on the actual number of moves, distances covered, types of move (e.g. urban-rural) and a limited number of characteristics of migrants, census data on internal migration though valuable, is necessarily limited. Questions like frequency of individual migration, attachment to particular areas, reasons for migration in general and reasons for moves to specific places, future intentions on migration, attitudes towards and integration into communities of adoption, the role of migration in social or economic advancement of the individual, the role played by relations and friends in encouraging or discouraging migration or even in influencing size and direction of the movement, the effect of migration on conjugal roles and many similar questions remain unanswered. While a social survey on internal migration is of necessity limited to one particular area,

(1) Census 1961, England and Wales: Migration Tables, London H.M.S.O. 1966 358p.

it can throw light on many of these problems and thus supplement knowledge on migration obtained from the census. A review of the literature will show what aspects of the problems have been studied in Britain compared to those studied abroad.

1. Size and direction of Migration.

As early as the 1880's E.G. Ravenstein presented papers entitled 'The Laws of Migration.' ⁽²⁾ Basing his generalizations on birth-place data of the 1881 census of Britain, Ravenstein put forward the following laws or trends:

'1. We have already proved that the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and that there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces 'currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants....

'2. It is the natural outcome of this movement of migration limited in range, but universal throughout the country, that the processes of absorption go on in the following manner:

The inhabitants of a country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock to it; the gaps thus left by the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the Kingdom. Migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will consequently grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnishes them....

'3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption and exhibits similar features.

'4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

'5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.

'6. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural parts of the country.

'7. Females are more migratory than males.'

These broad generalizations of migration in the nineteenth

(2) Ravenstein E.G. 'The Laws of Migration' Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 48, June 1885: 167-235, and 52 June 1889:241-305.

century have been confirmed by several studies ⁽³⁾ not only in Britain but abroad as well. More recent studies however, have modified these early generalizations. For instance some authors argue that migration is not a mere function of distance. In 1940 Samuel A. Stouffer presented his theory of intervening opportunities.

The theory proposes that '....the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.' The biggest problems of testing this theory is that of defining 'opportunities'.⁽⁴⁾ In his original study, Stouffer used census-tract data of Cleveland Metropolitan District to study the number of persons moving house. Opportunities were defined as the number of vacant houses (in a given rental group) in a given tract X. Similar vacancies between tract Y and X were called 'intervening opportunities.' He found that agreement between expected and observed values was high.

Other authors have applied Stouffer's theory with encouraging results ⁽⁵⁾. In a paper presented in 1960 ⁽⁶⁾ Stouffer introduced a further variable: 'competing migrants.' Thus his

-
- (3) See for example: Hill A.B. 'Internal migration and its effect on the death rates with special reference to the County of Essex' Medical Research Council. Makower, H. Marschak J. and Robinson H. 'Studies in the mobility of labour,' Oxford Economic Papers 1.Oct. 38 2. May 39 and 4: Sept 40.
Thomas B. 'The migration of labour into the Glamorganshire coal-fields.' Economica 10, 1930. Taeuber K. and Taeuber A. 'White migration and socio-economic differences between cities and suburbs,' American Sociological Review, 29 (5), Oct. 64: 718-729.
- (4) Stouffer S.A. 'Intervening Opportunities: A theory relating mobility and distance.' American Sociological Review, 5, Dec: 40 845-867.
- (5) Bright M.L. and Thomas D.S. 'Interstate Migration and intervening opportunities,' American Sociological Review, 6, 41: 773-783. Isbell E.C. 'Internal migration in Sweden and intervening opportunities' American Sociological Review, 9, 44: 627-639.
- (6) Stouffer S.A. 'Intervening opportunities and competing migrants' Journal of Regional Science, 2, Spring 60: 1-26.

original model became an attempt to express, for a specific time interval, the number of migrants from city A to city B as a direct function of the number of opportunities in city B and an inverse function of the number of opportunities intervening between city A and city B, as well as the number of other migrants competing for opportunities in city B. A recent study applied this new model to an interpretation of the U.S. 1960 census data. (7) The authors found, however, that the 1935-40 census data (used by Stouffer) fitted more closely than the 1950-60 data, though differences were small.

In post-war Britain, two important studies were undertaken using National Registration cards (set up in 1939 and continued after the war until 1952). (8) In the first of these articles it was noted that with the industrial revolution '....The young folk in the poorer farming families were faced with little choice-- they could live in semi-starvation in their farm cottages, they could move to the urban areas to seek work in the factories and mines, or they could go overseas. So the migratory flows began as the factories sprang up and with their rising came the demand for coal....' But, the authors insist '....the movement of the people tended to be localized... There was little evidence of any substantial movement at this time between North and South.'

With the turn of the century a new feature of the expansion of towns began to show itself: 'So far as the big towns are

(7) Galle O.R. and Taeuber K.E. 'Metropolitan Migration and Intervening Opportunities,' American Sociological Review, 1, 31: 5-13.

(8) Newton M. and Jeffrey J. 'Internal Migration,' General Register Office, Studies on medical and population subjects No.5. London H.M.S.O. 51: 41 p.

Rowntree, J. Internal Migration, General Register Office, Studies on medical and population subjects no. 11, London, H.M.S.O., 57: 11 p.

concerned, the end of the century was a time of consolidation rather than growth. Their workers spilled over their boundaries into the surrounding countryside and took advantage of improved methods of transport to travel to and from their work in the parent city.'

'Immediately before the first world war, internal migration began to assume a new pattern....in most large cities the introduction of females into clerical jobs and the like previously undertaken by males resulted in total recorded movement of population being greater for females than for males.'

With the economic depression in the 1930's the greatest sufferer's were the coal producing areas. The coal-miners of South Wales were most strongly hit. In an article by Friedlander and Roshier (Part I), maps of migration streams, drawn up by ten-year periods from 18-51 - 1911 and then twenty-year periods 1911 - 1951 brings out this phenomenon admirably. (9) The biggest contrast is to be seen between the map of 1901-1911 where streams continue as before, in the direction of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire and the map of 1911 - 1931 where there is a strong movement away from these areas as well as from Northumberland and Durham in the direction of London and its surroundings. Of course the war years 1939 - 1945 as well as the years following on these were years of pronounced but untypical movements of the population.

(9) Friedlander D. and Roshier R.J. 'A Study of Internal Migration in England and Wales,' Population Studies, I, 19 (3) Mar. 66: 239-279: II, 20 (1), July 66 45-59.

Newton and Jeffrey found that during the period 1948 - 1950 about four million moves were made per year. This was a period of little unemployment and an abnormal shortage of housing. Using the same source, Rowntree put the emphasis on the number of moves made by each migrant. He found on average each migrant made 1.6 moves in the three years (1948-1950). While 61.4% of migrants made only one move in this period, as much as one-fifth (23.1%) had made two moves, one-tenth (9.0%) had made three moves and 6.5% had made four or more moves.

Using the 1951 census material on birth-place, R. Osborne (10) found that $12\frac{3}{4}$ millions (31%) of the 1951 population of England and Wales were then living outside their native county.

The counties having largest net inward balances were:

Middlesex (850,000) Surrey (505,000) Essex (455,000)

Kent (240,000) Sussex (205,000) Hampshire (155,000)

Hertfordshire (145,000) and Cheshire and Warwickshire (both 140,000). It will be noted that all of these counties except

the last two (which surround Liverpool and Birmingham) are in

South East England around London. The highest net losses by

migration were from the county of London (1,840,000) Durham

(270,000) Lancashire (245,000) Glamorgan (140,000) Staffordshire

(135,000) and East and West Ridings combined (95,000).

Also referring to the 1951 census, C. Moindrot showed the

(10) Osborne R. 'Internal Migration in England and Wales 1951' Advancement of Science, 12, 55.6: 424-434.

importance of the⁽¹¹⁾ Southern coast as retirement towns. The census revealed a growing population in the 60 mile stretch along the Southern coast. Over 65 year olds represented 24% of the population of Worthing; 21.2% in Hove; 19.7% in Hastings and 19% in Eastbourne. These populations are also characterized by a strong disequilibrium in sex ratios (Worthing: 1,480 females per 1,000 males), high mortality rates (18 to 21 per 1,000) a small proportion of young people (under 15's in Hove: 15.8%) and a large number of widows and widowers.

Economists have been interested in the relationship between regional unemployment and inter-regional migrations of the labour-force. F.R. Oliver⁽¹²⁾ presented a paper on this theme to the Royal Statistical Society in 1963. He established several possible models to show the relationship between the two variables and concluded that while there was a strong tendency for regions with high unemployment to lose workers through inter-regional migration and for regions with low unemployment to gain, a good deal of migration must be due to other causes.

In an address given at Bristol University on 25th March 1965, B.A. Corry⁽¹³⁾ studying the same relationship tried to improve on

(11) Moindrot C. 'Les Villes de Retraités de la côte de Sussex' (Retirement towns on the Sussex Coast), Population, April - June 63: 346-366.

(12) Oliver F.R. 'Inter-regional Migration and unemployment 1951 - 1961' The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 127 (1) 64: 42-75.

(13) Corry B.A. 'Inter-regional Migration and unemployment 1951 - 1961.' Address given at the University of Bristol March 1965.

the models made by Oliver. These included using average unemployment in the 'rest of the country' rather than using the National average (which would include the region to and from which migration took place) and introducing a time lag of one year, assuming that movement would not respond immediately to unemployment. Corry concluded that more males responded than females in all regions and that unemployment explained about 30% of all migratory moves. He also brought to light the fact that in South East England (around London) people who leave the region already have a job elsewhere (unemployment in the South East wouldn't encourage them to look for a job in Scotland for example) while people who move to the region are generally looking for a job. The reverse is true in Scotland.

Interesting as these studies are, quite considerable doubt has been cast on the validity of inter-regional migration figures published by the Ministry of Labour.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the July 1965 issue, the Ministry of Labour Gazette points out that because firms centralize the employment cards (on which migration statistics are based) in a region other than the one in which their employees are working, this centralization could erroneously be 'counted' as migration. The same error would, of course occur if the central records office of a large firm moves between regions. There is reason to believe that this is in fact, what has been happening in the past and accounts for sudden reversals in trends of net gains and losses of employees in different regions. Since 1962/3 an adjustment has been made to the figures which takes

(14) Notes on Regional Labour Statistics No. 5. Inter-regional Migration of employees in Great Britain, Ministry of Labour Gazette, July 65:299-303.

these reservations into account.

The foregoing review of the literature on size and direction of migratory movements also throws light on the numerous sources used to study internal migration. However, until recently, when specific questions were included in the census of several countries, the main source used was that of birth-place. This, however, is subject to a number of limitations since only persons born in the country can be taken into account: a person born abroad, who subsequently made several internal moves would not be included. The number of moves made between birth-place and the residence of the migrant at the time of the census would be completely ignored. Though in this type of study the move from birth-place to place at time of census is considered as the direction of the movement, the migrant may have come to his present place from a completely different one to that in which he was born.

These are some of the problems which will be probed in the Chapter on 'Migration History' in this survey.

2. Selectivity of Migration.

Demographers have repeatedly tried to establish 'universal' migration differentials which would apply in all countries and at all times. But only one migration differential seems to have systematically withstood the test - that for age. The following generalization has been found to be valid in many places and for a long period of time: Persons in their late teens, twenties and early thirties are much more mobile than younger and older persons.

This finding has been supported in several studies. In a survey of migrants, conducted in Paris ⁽¹⁵⁾ it was found that 44%

(15) Pourcher G. 'Le peuplement de Paris' (The Peopling of Paris) Population, 3. 63: 545-564. /

of migrants were aged 20-34 years (the sample was taken from electors list so nothing is known about under 20's). Studying inter-state migration in the U.S. D.S. Thomas ⁽¹⁶⁾ covering the period 1870 to 1950 found that net gains in the inter-state migrants were highly concentrated in the age range 20-34 years for both sexes during the whole period. In his study of labour migration from Wales to Oxford between 1928 and 1937, G.H. Daniel ⁽¹⁷⁾ found that at the time of migration, 64% of the migrants were in the age-group 20-34 years.

In his paper presented to the 1961 International Population Conference, D. Bogue ⁽¹⁸⁾ suggests that apart from age '....further differentials do not exist and should not be expected to exist.' He proposes instead, to test hypotheses which express principles of selectivity under specified combinations of environmental and population conditions at places of origin and destination. He submits the following hypotheses which tend to characterize data in the United States and which may be consistent with migration elsewhere. His hypotheses are summarized as follows:

1. There is a series of stages in the development of any major migration stream. From initial invasion it develops into a phase of settlement which at its peak becomes routine, institutionalised. In initial stages men out-number women, but with the settlement phase, sex selectivity tends to disappear or even favour women. During initial stages, migration is highly

(16) Thomas D.S. 'Age and Economic Differentials in Inter-State Migration,' Population Index, Oct 58: 313-325.

(17) Daniel G.H. 'Labour Migration and Age-Composition,' Sociological Review. 31 (3). 39: 281-308.

(18) Bogue D.J. 'Techniques and Hypotheses for the Study of Differential Migration' International Population Conference 1961, paper 114 pp. 1 and 4-6.

selective of young but mature adults, persons who are single, divorced or widowed.

2. Migration stimulated by economic growth, technological improvement etc., attracts the better educated. Conversely, areas tending to stagnation lose their better educated and skilled persons first.
3. If between two population points, streams of equal size tend to flow, neither making net gains, then the composition of migration streams in each direction tends to be of minimum selectivity. If the stream flowing in one direction is greater than that flowing in the other direction there is great selectivity in both streams. But the place showing net gains would have a greater proportion of males, young adults, single, divorced or widowed, while the place showing net losses would have a high proportion of migration failures (returnees), employees of new establishments, local migrants 'passing through' on their way to bigger centres and retired migrants returning to place of origin.
4. Where the 'push' factor is very strong (famine drought etc.) origin selectivity is at a minimum. Where 'pull' stimulus is greater, there will be an appreciable selectivity.
5. In the modern technological societies, major streams which flow between metropolitan centres, tend to have very little selectivity of migrants.

There are of course, certain exceptions to this age-differential.

As we have seen earlier, migrants towards the Southern coast of Britain are mainly of retirement age. Another exception, is that of migration from central cities to suburbs where migrants tend to be more in the 35-45 year age groups.

Other differentials than that of age, for example, sex, rural-urban origin or destination, occupation etc., have been found to be significant in certain places and at certain times, but none of these have stood the test of universality like that of age and often these other differentials are not directly selective but depend upon factors like age and sex. An example of this is given in a study of migration in France, which uses the electoral register as a source.

Studying ⁽¹⁹⁾ rural-urban selectivity, France is divided into five categories: 1) Paris region 2) Large cities 50,000+ 3) Medium cities 10,000 - 49,999 4) Small cities -10,000 5) Rural areas. (Figures relate to 1953).

In the 21 to 29 year old group, rural areas showed a net loss of 9,991 while urban areas showed the following net gains: small cities 1,217; medium 1,008; large 2,252; Paris 5,514. A similar pattern of gains and losses was found in the age group 30-44 years: rural areas -3,340; small cities +1,662; medium +146; large +67 Paris +1,465. But in the next age group (45-59) the pattern starts reversing: rural +9,272; small cities +1,307; medium -1,404; large -3,289; Paris -5,886. In the 60+ year old group rural areas gained 2,799; small cities 1,767 and medium 722, while losses from large cities and Paris were, respectively 1,527 and 3,761. It is clear here that rural-urban selectivity is strongly influenced by age.

However, some consistency has been found in migratory movements in modern industrial societies. Firstly, those in the labour force have higher rates of migration than the population as a whole and within the labour-force higher rates of migration are found among professionals and semi-professionals (who also move greater distances) followed by service workers, while foremen, farmers and farm managers are the least mobile. These findings, reported for inter-county migration in the U.S.A. 1949-50 by James D. Tarver have ⁽²⁰⁾ been confirmed by results of the 1961 sample census in Britain for, 108.8 per 1,000 professional employees had migrated

(19) Croze M. 'Un instrument d'etude des migrations interieures: Les migrations d'electeurs' (An instrument for studying internal migrations: movements of voters), Population, 2,56: 235-260.

(20) Tarver J. 'Occupational Migration Differentials,' Social Forces, 43 (2) Dec. 64: 231-241.

between Local Authority areas in one year and the rate for service workers was 98.0 per 1,000. Rates for foremen and supervisors were only 26.0 per 1,000, for farmers - employers and managers 20.2 per 1,000, and for farmers - own account workers 17.6 per 1,000. Median distance moved by professionals was 25.4 miles while for semi-skilled manual workers it was only 9.5 miles.

Rates of migration also seem to be highly correlated, in industrial societies, with years of formal education, while a very mobile group is that of students. These aspects of migration selectivity have been covered in the U.S.A. by A.L. Ferriss, and H. Shryock and C. Nam.⁽²¹⁾

The aspects of migration selectivity in a modern industrial setting is the subject of Chapter IV of this study.

3. Motivation and Satisfaction in Migration.

One of the most important theories of migration is the 'push-pull' theory. It has been suggested that 'push' and 'pull' factors are the independent variables which account for rates of migration (dependent variables). ⁽²²⁾ In other words, reasons for migration could be divided into those which force a person to move from one place (push) and decides his destination (pull).

In a paper presented at the 1959 Population Conference⁽²³⁾

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- (21) Ferriss A.L. 'Predicting Graduate Student Migration' Social Forces 43 (3) Mar: 65: 310-319.
Shryock H. and Nam C. 'Educational Selectivity of Inter-regional Migration' Social Forces 43 (3) 65: 299-310.
- (22) See: Bogue D.J. 'Internal Migration' in P.M. Hauser and O.D. Duncan, The Study of Population, University of Chicago Press, p.p 486-509.
- (23) George P. 'Quelques types de Migrations de populations suivant la composition professionnelle et sociale migrants' (Types of population migrations based on professional and social composition of migrants), International Population Conference, Vienna 1959, presented by L. Henry and W. Winkler.

P. George considers geographical movements of population in two forms: 1. moves caused by necessity or obligation. 2. moves caused by needs (termed 'economic'), in certain countries.

Characteristics of the first type are that they generally have political or religious causes, that they 'push' certain classes of racial, religious or national groups who are mostly not suited to conditions in their places of destination. In the second type, pressure from place of origin (push) is accompanied by a need (pull) in the place of destination. P.H. Rossi in his study in Philadelphia ⁽²⁴⁾ of residential mobility, divided reasons for moves into those which pertain to the decision to move out of the former home (pushes) and those pertaining to choice of places to move to (pulls). He found that about one out of four residential shifts could be classified as either involuntary or the logical consequence of other decisions made by the household. 'Pushes' were caused by evictions or destruction of dwellings and decisions which led to moves included marriage, divorce or separation and job changes. 'Pulls' where people had a clear choice of going or staying, were prompted for the desire for more dwelling space, better neighbourhoods and cheaper rents. In a survey conducted in Paris ⁽²⁵⁾ motives for moving to Paris are divided into seven main divisions, each of these being divided into five or six subdivisions. Among recent migrants, the main reasons for coming to Paris were: 1) Motives concerning the Labour-market in Paris ('pulls') 35.3%.

(24) Why Families Move, A Study in Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility, The Free Glencoe Press 1955.

(25) Pourcher G. 'Le Peuplement de Paris' (The Peopling of Paris) Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965.

2) Motives concerning the labour-market in the provinces ('pushes') 20.5%. 3) Family, housing, health motives 15.1%. 4) Marriage and motives independent of the mover (children accompanying parents etc.) 11.7%. 5) Love of change etc., 8.3%. 6) Studies 6.4%. 7) Wars, Political events, Military service 2.7%.

In a paper presented at the 1961 Population Conference, Bogue put forward the following hypothesis: 'Migration that has a very strong 'push' stimulus tends to be much less selective with respect to the community of origin than migration which has a very strong 'pull' stimulus. Where there is a condition of very strong 'push' but no strong 'pull' (extreme cases are disasters such as famine, drought, floods, exhaustion of a resource), origin selectivity is at a minimum. In other words, selectivity of out-migrants from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attractive 'pulls' from other communities and inversely with expulsive 'pushes' from the community itself.' (26)

Motivation for migration with special reference to the 'push-pull' theory will be studied in Chapter III and will be reconsidered in Chapter VII to see whether this theory is really applicable to migration in modern industrial societies.

The degree of satisfaction achieved by migration, both generally and in work, must be considered as relative rather than absolute. For the migrant is apt to consider his position relatively to the position he held prior to migration. The fact that a migrant is manifestly well off in terms of occupation, income etc., would not necessarily mean that he was satisfied.

(26) Bogue D.J. 'Techniques and Hypotheses for the Study of Differential Migration,' International Population Conference 1961, paper 114.

Questions of reference group theory are involved here and satisfaction would have to be considered in the light of relative (rather than absolute) gratification or deprivation. (27)

No known study of migration, where a special question was devoted to 'motivations' has been undertaken in Britain. However, in many cases, general motivations may be inferred from data on characteristics of migrants etc.

4. Social and Geographical Mobility.

As we have seen earlier, highest rates of migration have been found in industrial societies among those in professional and similar jobs while semi-skilled and unskilled are the least migratory. In fact it has even been suggested that since the early 19th century the average social class of migratory persons has been rising. (28) It is true that in Britain modern migration differs considerably from the mass movements of unqualified persons from rural to urban areas which was typical at the time of industrial revolution as was underlined by Newton and Jeffery. (29)

But if it is true to say that migration rates are higher among those in status jobs, it is also true that geographical mobility is accompanied by considerable up and down mobility on the social scale.

However, only a few studies to date have looked for a direct relationship between social and geographical mobility, though several have put emphasis on the higher social status of migrants compared

(27) For a full discussion of these concepts see: Merton R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Glencoe Press, Glencoe 1957. Stouffer S.A. Social Research to Test Ideas (Selected Writings) introduced by P.F. Lazarsfield. The Free Glencoe Press, 1962.

(28) Musgrove F. The Migratory Elite, London, Heinemann, 1963, 185p.

(29) Newton M. and Jeffery J. op.cit.

to the general population ⁽³⁰⁾ and the longer distances moved by higher status migrants compared to lower status migrants.

In a study in Aberdeen ⁽³¹⁾ it was found that in-migrants to the city had a higher proportion of non-manual and lower proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled, while long distance migrants were preponderantly non-manual and particularly professional. In fact, Arnold M. Rose in a study of Minneapolis (U.S.A.) ⁽³²⁾ has put forward the following hypothesis: '....higher status persons, seeking better jobs or opportunities must move a greater distance to find them, on average, than do persons whose skills and aspirations direct them to look for less desirable opportunities.' His research and a re-test carried out in Duluth by H.R. Stub ⁽³³⁾ showed that lower class persons find many more intervening opportunities in a given distance than do upper-class persons.

In part II of their study of Internal Migration in England and Wales, ⁽³⁴⁾ Friedlander and Roshier used data from the National Marriage and Fertility Survey carried out by the Population Investigation Committee in December 1959, March 1960.

They found that only 18.5% of the professional managerial and executive group had lived in the same local authority area all their lives, while the proportion was 47.8% of the unskilled manual group. Longer distance moves were highly representative of non-manual workers.

(30) See for example: Galpin C.J. Analysis of Migration of Population to and from Farms, U.S. Dept., of Agriculture, Washington D.C. 1927. Whyte W.H. The Organization Man, Jonathan Cape, London, pp. 269-270.

(31) Illsley R. Finlayson, A. and Thompson B. 'The motivation and characteristics of Internal Migrants' The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Apr. and July 63: 41 (2+3): 115-143 and 217-248.

(32) Rose A.M. 'Distance of Migration and Socio-economic Status of Migrants,' American Sociological Review, 23, Aug. 58: 420-423.

(33) Stub H. 'The Occupational Characteristics of migrants to Duluth: A retest of Rose's migration hypothesis,' American Sociological Review, 27(1) Feb. 62: 87-90.

(34) Friedlander D. and Roshier R.J. op.cit.

Grammar school educated were found to be twice as mobile as non-grammar school educated. In this survey the relationship between social and geographical mobility is studied. Male respondents occupation at marriage was compared to that of their fathers. Classifying all occupations as manual and non-manual, upward mobility referred to respondents in non-manual occupations whose fathers were in manual, downward mobility was the reverse of this while those who remained stable in both manual and non-manual occupations formed two groups. Migration (at least one move) before marriage between Local Authority areas and after marriage between counties, was considered. Before marriage, 45.3% of non-manual respondents whose fathers were also non-manual had moved between Local Authority areas and this was followed by 43.0% of upwardly mobile respondents. Proportions for the mobile downwards were 34.8% and 28.4%. The pattern was exactly the same after marriage but differences between the first two groups were larger: Stable non-manual 47.7% mobile upwards 37.6% followed by mobile downwards 34.2% and stable manual 24.6%.

Social structure and mobility have been considered here only in the light of occupational gradings. However, there are other indices of social class such as Education (as we have seen in the article by Shryock and Nam) ⁽³⁵⁾ including certificates of education held and terminal educational age. Another important factor to be taken into account apart from the objective class ratings based on occupation and education, is the subjective class assessment of persons and their neighbours, for a strong motivating force in migration (or at least in residential mobility) could be the fact that people do not feel 'at home' among their immediate neighbours. This present study will thus try to probe a bit further than the

(35) Shryock H. and Nam C. op. cit.

general objective class ratings based upon occupations.

5. Kin, Social Networks and Conjugal Roles.

The important role played by kin, family and friends in encouraging or discouraging migration, in determining destination of migrants and the effect of migration on kin and friend relationships as well as on conjugal roles are some of the more important aspects covered in migration studies. However, though this forms part of the general survey undertaken here, it will be omitted from the main thesis where only occasional reference will be made to these aspects.

Kin and friends have played a very important role in international and internal migration. The idea of chain migration - where migrants join relatives and friends ⁽³⁶⁾ who have migrated before them - has been referred to in several studies. In a study of 'Kentucky Mountain Migration' ⁽³⁷⁾ the authors found the majority of out-migrants tended to go to the same places while the majority of in-migrants tended to come from the same places. In his study of Southern Italian migrants to Turin ⁽³⁸⁾ G. Fofi noted that the new migrant usually found a dwelling in an area with other migrants and while this gave him a certain sense of protection, it also limited his contact with the local people.

A survey of British middle-class families on a private housing estate near London, ⁽³⁹⁾ however, noted that kinship ties or obligations played a very minor role in the decision to move. Mobility was found to be largely a function of the sort of careers taken up

(36) The International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 6(1) March 1965 is devoted to 'Kinship and Geographical Mobility'

(37) Brown J.S. Schwarzweller H.K. and Mangalam J.J. 'Kentucky Mountain Migration and the stem family: an American variation on the theme by Le Play' Rural Sociology 28 (1) Mar: 63: 48-69.

(38) Fofi G. 'Immigrati a Torino' (Immigrants in Turin) Ponte. 18(7) 62: 940-951.

(39) Hubert J. 'Kinship and Geographical Mobility in a sample from a London Middle-class area' International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 6(1) Mar: 65: 61-80.

by respondents and, not being dictated by kinship ties, led to a wide scatter of kin and family all over the country and abroad. Though there was little interchange of contact and services or mutual dependence between respondents and their original families, this did not mean that there were no strong ties, but rather that relative independence of children from their parents began at an early age when children went off to boarding school and later to colleges and universities. An example of the affective tie was the fact that geographical distance in no way influenced the help given by mothers to their daughters during confinement: a majority of wives had their mothers to stay in the house at least during one confinement.

Closely related to the role played by kin and friends in migration is that of the social integration of the migrant in his new community. If he already has relatives and friends in the new place, adaptation may become all the easier, but his integration into the new community may be hindered by the 'protection' afforded by relatives and friends. This is particularly true in international migration where national groups tend to 'keep together' and never even learn the language of their country of adoption. But even in internal migration this phenomenon is not unknown. In an article on Southern Italian migrants in Milan⁽⁴⁰⁾ C. Manucci, referring to complaints made by residents about new migrants said that southerners had 'imported' priests, statues,

(40) Manucci C. 'Emigrati nell'alto Milanese,' (Migrants in the High Milan area), Nord e Sud, 4 (37), Dec. 57: 66-74.

costumes and religious processions from their former homes in the south to predominantly communist areas of the north. In one place, a predominantly socialist local authority was completely voted out of power by votes given to migrants, predominantly Catholic.

Conversely, in her study of Banbury ⁽⁴¹⁾Margaret Stacey shows that quite a number of in-migrants to the city (arriving after age 7) had been absorbed by the traditional society. The only overt tension which existed between banburians and immigrants were the accusations levelled at the Borough Council of favouritism in housing towards immigrants, but the survey found no evidence of any bias on the part of the council. But there is no doubt that migrant groups could have an effect on local government. For instance in Birmingham since 1950, sky-scraper flats are being built because of the large numbers of migrants moving to the town, and the population is encouraged to move to the outskirts and to commute back and forth, thus creating the added problem of adequate travelling facilities. ⁽⁴²⁾ In Cinisello, North Italy, over 2,000 dwellings of which 95% went to migrant families were built in 10 years but about 200 families were still living in shanties and stables. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Besides the problem of housing, local authorities are also faced with the problem of schools for migrant children. As well as insufficiency of numbers there might be serious discrepancies in the standard of education attained by migrant children compared to local children, a point

(41) Stacey M. Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury, London Oxford University Press, 1960 XIV + 231 p.

(42) Moindrot C. 'Les mouvements de la population dans la region de Birmingham' (Population Movements in the Birmingham region.) Norois 9 (35), July-Sept. 62: 317-332.

raised by G. Taylor in his study of the effects of different local authority systems of secondary education, on children whose parents are on the move.⁽⁴³⁾

But, besides the general integration of migrants into the community, some studies have looked into the participation of migrants in local organizations.

B. Zimmer⁽⁴⁴⁾ tested the following hypotheses 1) migrants differ in the level of participation in activities of the community but they become more similar to the natives in their behaviour the longer they live in the community; 2) Urban migrants tend to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farm migrants. He found that membership in formal organizations tends to increase directly with length of time in the community, but that participation is also influenced by factors such as age, education and occupational status.

In a recent article, T.T. Jitodai studied⁽⁴⁵⁾ the relationship between migrant status and church attendance. He states that one could expect rural migrants to show higher rates of church attendance than urban migrants because the church seemed to be the most obvious channel for rural migrants to enter the network of groups, while urban migrants would be more familiar with urban organizations. In fact he found rates of attendance to be higher for urban migrants. He felt that the main reasons for this was the

(43) Taylor G. 'Children on the move' The Guardian, 10th Feb. 1965.

(44) Zimmer B. 'Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures' American Sociological Review, 20, 218-224.

(45) Jitodai T.T. 'Migrant Status and Church Attendance' Social Forces, 43 (2), Dec. 64: 241-248.

difference in organisation of urban and rural churches. The urban church was characterized by its large size, professionalized staff and a general structure of secondary and impersonal relationships and has become a meeting place for many kinds, both secondary and primary groupings - sport, social, professional and intellectual as well as religious. The rural church was organized around more communal and primary relationships.

An aspect of internal migration on which more and more attention is being focussed, is the effect of migration on the nuclear family and more particularly on conjugal roles. In her study of married couples E. Bott put forward the following hypothesis: 'The degree of segregation in role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network. The more connected a network, the greater the degree of segregation between the roles.... (and) the less connected the network, the smaller the degree of segregation between the roles of husband and wife.' (46) A connected network was one where many of the friends known by the couples interacted with each other while a loose-knit network was one where one's friends didn't know each other. Bott explained this hypothesis by saying that if both husband and wife have close-knit networks, each will get some emotional satisfaction from external relationships and will be likely to demand correspondingly less of the spouse.

Further on, she suggests that network-connectedness depends

(46) Bott E. Family and Social Network, London Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1957, p.60

on the stability and continuity of the relationships, and shows that the families with loose-knit networks had lived in far more places than others. This suggests that migrant husbands and wives, because of the lack of close-knit networks would depend more on each other and that there would be less segregation of conjugal roles. In a book by Young and Wilmott the problems of families moving from Bethnal to a new housing estate are studied.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Here more than ever, the effect of moving is to limit contact with family and kin and consequently to cause husbands and wives to focus more of their interest on the home. This is further encouraged by the difficulty of making friends on the new estate and the lack of places to meet neighbours: pubs, cinemas shops etc.

A whole section of this present study has been devoted to the effects of migration on conjugal roles and will be treated in a separate chapter of the general study.

(47) Young M. and Willmott P. 'Family and Kinship in East London.' London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

Chapter II.

AIMS OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURE

1. Aims of the Study

The review of previous studies showed the lack of direct research on internal migration in Britain, compared to that done in other countries. To date, no known survey with the object of interviewing internal migrants as such, has been undertaken in Britain. Therefore the principal objects of the present study are as follows:

1. To obtain an overall picture of social aspects of migration to Bristol, one of Britain's largest cities.
2. To compare characteristics and life experience of migrants and residents.
3. To study the effect of migration on social networks and on conjugal roles. (1)
4. To throw some light on the aspects of migration in modern industrial societies in contrast to the migration at the time of the industrial revolution.

The results of the 1961 sample census show that 12,490⁽²⁾ persons had moved to Bristol County Borough in the year April 1960 to April 1961 and that 15,780 had moved out of the County Borough leaving a net loss of 3,290. However, certain refinements are necessary in these figures. Firstly, in-migrants include those coming from 'elsewhere in the British Isles' (470) and from abroad (1,310) while the numbers going from Bristol to these places are unknown. Secondly, a large proportion of migration is to and from the districts immediately surrounding Bristol in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset and is simply indicative of the expansion of the city rather than of migration as such. Taking these factors into account, in-migration from England and Wales (excluding

(1) This aspect does not form part of the Thesis.

(2) Since these figures are from a one-in-ten sample, the published figures are given as 12,49 and 15,78. A zero has been added in the figures given above but it must be borne in mind that these are approximate because of the possibility of sampling errors.

Gloucester and Somerset) was 6,860 persons while out-migration to the rest of England and Wales (excluding Gloucester and Somerset) was 6,620 with a net gain for Bristol County Borough of 240. This net gain represents only 1.8% of the gross moves in and out of the city.

Similar calculations were made for the six cities of England and Wales larger than Bristol and the following results were obtained⁽³⁾.

<u>City</u>	<u>Net as a % of gross migration</u> ⁽⁴⁾
London County	13.8
Birmingham	17.5
Liverpool	17.3
Manchester	14.1
Leeds	4.2
Sheffield	19.7

In none of these cities is the net percentage of gross greater than a fifth. This means that there are streams of practically even numbers moving in and out of the large cities.

It would thus appear that one-way migration streams are the exception rather than the rule. At the turn of the century the word 'migration' conjured up a picture of masses of peasants leaving rural areas to settle in the towns, as depicted by Newton and Jefferys. Today, the most important migration streams are those between towns, accounting for 60% of all migratory moves in Britain in 1960-61, while the rural to urban streams represented only 13%. Migration in modern industrial societies has become an exchange of persons between centres rather than a supply of persons from one area to another.

Thus, few migrants can say they were 'forced' to move in the same way as peasants were forced to move (or starve on their farms) at the time of the industrial revolution. The majority of migrants today are free to weigh up pushes and pulls and to decide in the light of these, whether to move or not. In other words, except in a few cases, the force element in pushes is greatly reduced. One may say that the accent has passed from a predominantly 'push' stimulus to one of a 'pull' stimulus where one

(3) In each case migrants to and from counties immediately surrounding these cities were excluded.

(4) Every one of these cities experienced a net loss of migrants.

weighs up the advantages and disadvantages of the place which is 'pulling' and compares them to one's existing situation.

Since modern migrations are no longer functions of circumstances forcing one to move they should be studied from other points of view. This study proposes to consider migration as a function of the type of careers taken up and the saliency attached to the career by the individual. Because some careers imply a certain amount of residential mobility, persons in these careers expect to have to move frequently.

The present study thus postulates that migration in modern industrial societies is less a function of 'forced' moves than a function of the type of career taken up and the importance attached to the career.

The consequences of this postulate are:

1. The majority of moves would be motivated by job changes, but few migrants will say they were 'forced' to move.
2. The migrant will be more likely than the non-migrant to seek expressive advantages from the work situation, as opposed to the more instrumental advantages.
3. Rates of migration would be higher among career jobs (Professional, Managerial etc.) even if in actual numbers manual workers represent a larger proportion of all migrants.
4. There would be more upward status mobility among migrants than among non-migrants.
5. Migration would not be limited to single moves, but several during the career cycle.
6. Degree of satisfaction derived from migration would be seen in relative rather than absolute terms for the reference models of the migrant would be constantly changing.
7. Though a migrant may be completely satisfied with his present job, house, surroundings and may even have experienced an improvement in status, satisfaction and standard of living, this will not be a guarantee that he will remain in his present place (i.e. Bristol) as he may see this as just another step but not the final in his career.
8. The migrant to a particular area would not necessarily have known the place very well before migration, since this is not of much importance to persons continually on the move.
9. The majority of migrants will make first friends and probably best friends through their jobs, because of limited attachment to local communities.

10. For the same reason, the migrant husband is more likely to share more household duties with his wife, do more jobs about the home and be accompanied more often on various occasions by his wife while the wife is more likely to be interested in the husband's career.
11. Because of this 'involvement' in the husband's career the spouse would raise little objection to repeated moves.
12. Few husbands or wives would miss friends or neighbours from previous places though there would be a tendency to miss close kin.

If this postulate is acceptable for the migrants to Bristol, what can be said of non-migrants? Taking all those who have no intention of leaving Bristol it would be necessary to distinguish between the a) Bristol born and b) those non-migrants who have come to Bristol over 10 years ago as well as those coming in the past 10 years but who have no intention of leaving Bristol in the future: in other words, all who have come from elsewhere and intend settling in Bristol.

a) Among the Bristol born who have no intention of migrating in future, one must postulate either a lack of career consciousness, career mobility that does not need migration (e.g. self employment) and /or strong competition from other attachments which inhibit migration.

One would expect these respondents to be largely persons

1. Whose central life interest would not be focussed on work and who would seek mainly instrumental benefits from work and /or
2. Who are largely self-employed and / or
3. Who find their present job sufficiently satisfying as not to aspire to a better job and / or
4. Who are nearing their forties or who are near retirement age.

5. Having close kin and friendship ties with the community and
6. Whose closest friends are among neighbours and in local associations rather than in their jobs and
7. Who belong to local groups and
8. Who own their houses.

For the Bristol-born and residents of more than 10 years who intend leaving, it would be necessary to study at what point they are in their careers, but it could be said with a fair amount of certainty that the majority of moves would not be motivated by work reasons.

b) For migrants to Bristol, both those who have come within the past 10 years and those who have come before, but for whom the move to Bristol is not part of their career mobility, since they have no intention to leave, one must postulate that either they have reached the peak of their careers, or that their move to Bristol was not motivated for reasons concerned with their careers or that they have made strong attachments in Bristol which compete with migration as an advancement of their careers.

One would expect these respondents to be largely persons

1. nearing their forties or
2. whose central life-interest is not focussed around their work and/or
3. who have become self-employed and/or
4. who have found jobs sufficiently satisfying as not to warrant moving again
5. who although not born in Bristol having lived most of their lives here
6. who have made strong friendship ties in Bristol
7. who have achieved life-long goals: e.g. buying one's own home.

The evidence relating to these hypotheses is presented in the Chapter on 'Migration and Career Mobility' where they will be

further discussed and modified in the light of findings.

2. Research Procedure

Interviewing was carried out by trained interviewers between March and December 1966. The questionnaire used had been corrected and adapted in the light of findings from pilot studies. Though in the pilot-study, many questions were left open-ended to allow for the possible range of replies to questions, in the actual study, possible replies were pre-coded, but a place was left for 'other' replies. Except on one or two questions (concerning social class) there was no prompting by the interviewer and if a reply did not fall into a pre-coded response the 'other' reply was written into the questionnaire and grouped, when possible at the coding stage. Main topics covered in the questionnaire were: Household composition; Migration history; Job history; Neighbourhood and social structure; Conjugal roles; Future migration plans and Housing conditions. (5)

- The Survey Area -

A difficulty facing research of this type, is the absence of any listing of migrants (defined for the purposes of this survey as those having under 10 years residence in the city) or non-migrants, which could be used as a sampling frame. Several methods were used in the pilot studies to find migrants including the comparing of names at given addresses in a directory of Bristol at intervals of 10 years. But these proved unsatisfactory because of the considerable amount of errors in the directory, which was strongly biased in favour of residents living a long time at a given address.

Since the question on internal migration from the census for

(5) A copy of the questionnaire is given in the appendix.

the year 1960-1961 was available by enumeration district (a small area covered by a single enumerator in the census) the proportion of migrants (who had moved to the city in one year) to total population was calculated for each enumeration district. Only districts having more than 9% migrants in one year were retained for the survey but a few atypical districts were excluded (e.g. on the fringe of the city where local moves could be defined as migration or in the centre of the city where the total population of the districts was very small). This gave 38 out of 599 enumeration districts as the survey area. Although the survey area is considered throughout the study as one area, the 38 enumeration districts are not clustered but spread throughout the city. Table II. 1. compares the survey area to the whole of the city on data from the 1961 census.

TABLE II. 1.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE SURVEY AREA AND BRISTOL

-- CENSUS 1961 --

(Percentages).

		Survey Area	Bristol
Proportion of Males	% of Tot.Pop.	46.4	48.1
" of +15	% " " "	82.9	77.9
Persons per Household	(average)	2.8	3.2
Tenure - Own		48.4	46.7
	Council	5.6	29.4
	Rent	43.2	21.3
	Other	2.8	2.6
Occupations Professional		10.6	3.6
	Emp.+Man.	16.2	7.8
	Skilled + Own A/C	24.9	38.5
	Intermediate Non-M.	28.7	20.3
	Semi-Skilled	9.8	16.4
	Unskilled	9.8	13.4
T.E.A. 15 and under		57.9	84.6
	16-19	31.3	12.1
	20 and over	10.8	3.3
Movers within city 1960-61	% of Tot.Pop.	9.6	7.1
Migrants to city	% " " "	12.6	2.8

The survey area differs in many respects from the city itself and could not be said to be representative of the city as a whole: a clear indication that factors related to migration are selective of persons having particular characteristics. Confidence limits were calculated for a few items for Bristol as a whole. If the persons in the survey area were a representative sample of Bristol as a whole, the proportions found in the survey area would fall within these confidence limits but in none of the comparisons was this found to be true though some characteristics differed considerably more than others. For example, the proportion of males in the survey area should have fallen in the limits ($P = 0.95$) 47.5% to 48.7% while in fact it was only 46.4. But other items were even more extreme: For instance among the occupied, if the survey area was a random sample of the city, we would have expected to find between 2.4% - 4.8% in professional jobs and between 6.1% and 9.5% in employers and managers, while in fact the respective proportions were 10.6% and 16.2%. As we have seen from the review of the literature, migration is highly selective of persons in these occupations.

- Sampling of Households.

The actual sampling unit in the survey was the household the head of each household being interviewed. Definitions of household and head-of-household followed those used by the Central Office of Information ⁽⁶⁾. It must be noted however, that all students living on their own were considered, for the purposes of this survey, as individual households though this is not general practice, but it was considered necessary in this survey since students form an important group among migrants. The survey aimed at obtaining a comparable number (approximately 500) of migrant and non-migrant

(6) Harris M.A. A Handbook for interviewers, Central Office of Information, 1956.

households. Using the latest electoral register (February 1966) all addresses in the survey area were listed: From these 1 in three addresses were initially chosen within each of the 38 enumeration districts of the survey area. This gave a total of 2,119 addresses to be visited. Pilot studies revealed that there was approximately one migrant household (less than 10 years residence in the city) to every three non-migrant households.

A system was devised whereby the interviewer first ascertained the number of distinct households at each address. If there was only one, this was retained for questioning on migrant status; if there were two, both were retained but one of the remaining addresses on the enumeration district list was cancelled; if there were three, all were retained and two addresses crossed off. In the case of more than three households at an address, only three were retained by a random selection and two other addresses cancelled. Thus the final number of households retained equalled the original number of addresses. (7)

At each of the 2,119 retained households it was then ascertained whether the head was a migrant or not. All migrants were to be interviewed with 1 in 3 non migrants. Of the households visited 487 were migrant and 1,632 non-migrant. (In fact, non-migrants were found to outnumber migrants by more than 3 to 1, but had one in four been chosen this would have given too few: 408). Consequently, 544 non-migrants (a third) and 487 migrants were to be interviewed.

However owing to refusals, questionnaires were completed for 425 (87.1%) migrants and 486 (89.5%) non-migrants giving an over-

(7) See: Gray P.G. and Corlett, T. Sampling for the Social Survey, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, A. CXIII, II, 1950.

all response-rate of 88.3%. Response rate varied from one enumeration district to another the lowest being 71.4% in one district and highest 100% in 8 of the districts.

- Sampling fractions and response-rates.

More detail must be given here about sampling fractions and response-rate. Since 1 in 3 addresses were originally selected from all addresses in the area and then only a third of non-migrant households retained, the respective sampling fractions were: migrants $\frac{1}{3}$ and non-migrants $\frac{1}{9}$ th. But there was more than one household per address. The 1961 census showed that in the 6,357 addresses of the survey area, there were 8,875 households. Taking this into account the respective sampling fractions were:

$$\text{Migrants } \frac{1}{3} \times \frac{6,357}{8,875} = 4.2 \quad \text{Non-Migrants } \frac{1}{9} \times \frac{6,357}{8,875} = 12.6$$

Thus, approximately 1 in 4 migrant and 1 in 12 non-migrant households were to be interviewed. When taking into account non-response these proportions became, respectively, 1 in 4.8 and 1 in 14.1.

Response rates in each of the enumeration districts were correlated with selected data of these districts obtained from the 1961 census, to see if refusals were related to any of these. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient was calculated for each enumeration district, between the selected data and response rate and it was found that none of these were significant at the 95% level of confidence. The following are the items correlated with response-rate with their respective coefficients:

1)	Index of Social Class of head of household	-0.035
2)	Number of persons per household	0.206
3)	Proportion of household heads with 15 or less years of education	-0.098
4)	Proportion of heads who own their home	0.117
5)	Proportion of households that contain migrants	-0.031

It can thus safely be said that refusals have not significantly influenced the sample. An attempt was made to compare survey results with 1961 census data for the 38 districts. However, the survey was based on households while very little data was given by households in the census. Secondly, definitions of households did not exactly co-incide, for example, students were considered as distinct households in the survey while this is not done in the census. Finally, census data refer to 1961, survey data to 1966 and changes are all the more important since the area studied is a very mobile one (68.2% of migrant heads interviewed, have come to Bristol since 1961 - nothing is known of those who left the area in this period). However, comparisons were made for age and sex structures of the populations and for household tenure, figures from the survey being weighted according to their sampling fractions. These comparisons are shown in Table II 2.

Table II.2.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN SAMPLE AND CENSUS PROPORTIONS.

- SURVEY AREA -

1. Age and Sex.

	-15yrs.	15+ Males	15+ Females
1961 Census	17.1%	37.5%	45.4%
Survey Estimate	19.5%	36.4%	44.1%

2. Household Tenure.

	Own	Council	Rent	Other
1961 Census	48.3%	5.5%	43.2%	2.9%
Survey Estimate	61.3%	9.5%	35.6%	3.5%

While there are remarkable similarities in age and sex proportions, there are important differences in household tenure. Part

of the reason for these differences is that a vast amount of demolition and rebuilding has been taking place in two or three of the enumeration districts in the past few years. But it is surprising to see the much higher proportions owning and in council houses compared to such a small proportion renting in an area which is very mobile. A fair proportion of council houses were found in three enumeration districts. In at least one of these, the council houses have been built since the 1961 census was taken. In another of these, according to the 1961 census, 213 of 218 households were 'council,' yet the proportion in this area of persons who had come from outside of Bristol in one year is 13.1%. In the actual survey only one of the 81 households visited was found to be a migrant household. Clearly there seems to be some discrepancy in the census figures.

Matched Samples.

Migration is selective of young adults, those in their twenties and early thirties and in this survey large differences in average age have been noted. However, part of this difference is probably due to the sampling system. Since only heads-of-households were interviewed and persons living on their own were considered as heads (e.g. students) it was impossible to interview young non-migrants as long as they were living with their parents, since they would not be defined as heads. Had a sample of individuals (instead of households) been taken, the differences in age between migrants and non-migrants would not have been so marked. In order to see what differences in the two groups were due mainly to migration (and not to sex, age etc.) respondents were matched.

From the initial 911 respondents, 233 migrants and 233 non-migrants were matched on, marital status, employment, sex, and age and were distributed as follows:

Married, employed, males whose age-group correspond	184M	184N/M
Married, unemployed, males whose age-group correspond	12M	12N/M
(8) Single, employed males whose age-group correspond	5M	5N/M
(8) Single, unemployed males whose age-group correspond	1M	1N/M
(8) Single, employed females whose age-group correspond	15M	15N/M
(8) Single, unemployed females whose age-group correspond	15M	15N/M
	233M	233N/M

We thus have two groups exactly alike in age, sex, marital status and employment and when comparisons of earnings, occupation etc., are made we are not comparing an older group (who would be nearing the end of their career) with a younger one, but two groups which are largely similar, except for the fact that one has migrated in the past ten years while the other has remained stable.

- Sampling errors and significance tests.

Table II. 3. sets out for the main sample and for each of the sub samples the probable range of sampling error at the 95% level of confidence. The statement '37.7% of migrants gave as principle reason for coming to Bristol, the fact that they were appointed to work there,' should read, 'There were fewer than five chances in a hundred that the proportion of migrants giving 'appointed to work' as a main reason for coming to Bristol, was outside the range 37.7% plus or minus 4.1% i.e. between 33.6% and 41.8%. However, such statements cannot be made throughout the study, but reference to the table for any particular proportion will give the confidence limits at the 95% level. Similar calculations were made for matched samples and are to be found in table II 4.

Significant differences are set out in Table II 5. An example will illustrate the use of this table. There are 334 migrant workers and 328 non-migrant workers. If 30% of all workers (migrants and non-migrants

(8) These include all who are not married (Single, Divorced, Widowed).

TABLE II. 3.

CONFIDENCE LIMITS (F=0.95) ON PERCENTAGES FROM SAMPLES.

		OBSERVED PERCENTAGES									
<u>Migrants</u>	A	5%/95%	10/90	15/85	20/80	25/75	30/70	35/65	40/60	45/55	50/50%
Workers	334	± 2.1	2.9	3.4	3.8	4.1	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.8
Non-Workers	91	± 4.0	5.5	6.5	7.3	7.9	8.4	8.7	9.0	9.1	9.1
Married	227	± 2.5	3.5	4.1	4.6	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.8
Non-Married	148	± 3.1	4.3	5.1	5.7	6.2	6.6	6.8	7.0	7.1	7.2
All Migrants	425	± 1.8	2.5	3.0	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.2
<u>Non-Migrants</u>											
Workers	328	± 2.3	3.1	3.7	4.2	4.5	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.2
Non-Workers	158	± 3.3	4.5	5.4	6.0	6.5	6.9	7.2	7.4	7.5	7.5
Married	333	± 2.3	3.1	3.7	4.1	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.2	5.2
Non-Married	153	± 3.3	4.6	5.5	6.1	6.6	7.0	7.3	7.5	7.6	7.6
All Bristol-Born	232	± 2.7	3.7	4.4	5.0	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.2
Non-Bristol	254	± 2.6	3.6	4.2	4.7	5.1	5.4	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.9
All Non-Migrants	486	± 1.9	2.6	3.1	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.3

139

TABLE II. 4.

CONFIDENCE LIMITS ($P=0.95$) ON PERCENTAGES FROM SAMPLES, FROM MATCHED GROUPS.OBSERVED PERCENTAGES.

Samples		5/95%	10/90	15/85	20/80	25/75	30/70	35/65	40/60	45/55	50/50%
Migrants: Workers	205	+2.7	3.7	4.3	4.9	5.3	5.6	5.8	6.0	6.1	6.1
Non-Workers	28	+7.2	9.9	11.8	13.2	14.3	15.1	15.7	16.7	16.4	16.5
Married	196	+2.7	3.7	4.4	5.0	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.2
Non-Married	37	+6.2	8.6	10.2	11.5	12.4	13.1	13.7	14.0	14.3	14.3
All Migrants	233	+2.5	3.4	4.1	4.6	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.7
Non-Migrants:											
Workers	205	+2.9	4.0	4.7	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.3	6.5	6.6	6.6
Non-Workers	28	+7.8	10.7	12.7	14.3	15.5	16.4	17.0	17.5	17.8	17.8
Married	196	+2.9	4.0	4.8	5.4	5.9	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.7	6.7
Non-Married	37	+6.8	9.3	11.1	12.4	13.5	14.2	14.8	15.2	15.4	15.5
All Non-Migrants	233	+2.7	3.7	4.4	5.0	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.2

agree to a certain proposition while the proportion among migrants is 46% and among non-migrants 14% then the difference is highly significant because if one looks at the table under the column 30/70 it will be seen that for workers a difference of 7.0% is significant while in our example the difference 32% (46%-14%) is so much higher. Similarly, it can be seen whether other differences in proportions

	M	%	NM	%	Total	%
Agree	154	(46%)	45	(14%)	119	(30%)
Disagree	180	(54%)	283	(86%)	463	(70%)
	334		328		662	

are significantly different or not. A table of significant differences has not been made for matched samples since various tests exist, depending on the problem in question and the particular test used, these will be explained when appropriate.

The use of tests of significance in social surveys, is a matter of considerable controversy. Lipset et. al. suggested that tests were frequently too weak, too strong or irrelevant to their alleged purposes.(9) They were too weak when the research worker manipulated data (e.g. by collapsing tables) to support a particular proposition. Tests were too strong when applied to isolated tables which could be part of an inter-related network. A relationship might be weak because of the small size of the sample but prove to be stronger if a larger sample were taken. The absence of a statistically significant association might indicate the need for further studies rather than the rejection of the hypothesis.

But a case can still be made for using tests to establish whether any real difference exists at all between two groups, as distinct from apparent differences due to sampling. Sociologists generally would agree that the absence of a statistically significant relationship in a particular investigation does not necessarily mean that there is no substantive association in reality. On the other hand, evidence of a statistical association or correlation is not proof of a causal relationship, however significant. In fact, the chi square test uses the Null hypothesis i.e.

(9) Lipset, S.M. et. al. Union Democracy, Free Press, Glencoe, 1956, pp.429/31

TABLE II. 5.

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ($P=0.05$) BETWEEN TWO GIVEN SAMPLES FOR VARYING OBSERVED PROPORTIONS

Samples	M	N-M	5/95%	10/90	15/85	20/80	25/75	30/70	35/65	40/60	45/55	50/50%
Migrants v Non-migrants	425	486	2.8	3.9	4.6	5.2	5.6	6.0	6.2	6.4	6.5	6.5
M. Workers v NM. Workers	334	328	3.3	4.6	5.4	6.1	6.6	7.0	7.3	7.5	7.6	7.6
M. Non-workers v. NM. Non-workers	91	158	5.6	7.7	9.2	10.3	11.2	11.8	12.3	12.6	12.8	12.9
M. Married v. NM. Married	227	333	3.7	5.1	6.0	6.7	7.3	7.7	8.0	8.3	8.4	8.4
M. Non-married v NM. Non-married	148	153	4.9	6.8	8.1	9.0	9.8	10.4	10.8	11.1	11.2	11.3

0
K
0

it supposes that there is no difference between the two or more groups in question. If a significant difference is found, it simply means that the groups differ but does not show why they differ: there is no causal relationship.

Significance tests are used throughout this study. But each time such a test is used the degree of significance is given. The following conventions have been adhered to: When a difference was considered to be just significant (i.e. when the probability that a difference as large as one found in the study arising purely by chance is between 1% and 5%) it was marked with one cross (+), when it was very significant, two crosses (++) and very , very significant, three (+++) while not significant differences were marked n.s. Wherever these are given, it would be well to remember that there is no necessary causal relationship for differences could be due to many other uncontrolled variables.

Chapter III

MIGRATION HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

The review of the literature on studies of internal migration in Chapter I has shown that several attempts have been made to establish 'laws of migration' which would hold at all times. However, few laws have withstood the test of time and different trends characterize migration today. To study these changes of trend in detail would require a complete survey of migratory moves throughout the country. But since this is not possible, by combining census data with data from a specific survey such as the present one, several of these 'laws' may be tested in a modern industrial setting. This will be the object of the first part of this chapter.

The majority of previous studies of internal migration, and thus all conclusions derived from these, have been based on comparisons between birthplace and census-place data. Though the majority of authors have noted the limitations of using birthplace data in these studies, no known study has attempted to estimate the extent of these. Do a large majority spend the major part of their lives at birthplace? Do they look upon birthplace as home? How many moves have been made between birthplace and census-place? Is there a large difference in direction of moves between census-place compared to birthplace and census-place compared to last residence? To what extent are persons born abroad internally mobile? All internal migration studies using birthplace data leave out those born abroad. What is known of returnees i.e. persons born in a particular place who have migrated elsewhere but who have returned to their birthplaces by the time

a census is taken? Since birthplace for these co-incide with census-place, they are considered as not having moved. These problems will be studied in the second part of this chapter.

Finally, a study of migration histories throws light on the migratory background of respondents. Are migrants more likely to come from families who are migratory too? Does the age at which persons make first moves influence subsequent moves? What are the characteristics of those who never move? Migratory backgrounds will form the third part of this chapter.

While the study will consider two main groups: Migrants and Non-migrants, these latter are sometimes sub-divided into two groups: Bristol-born non-migrants and non-migrants, who though not born in Bristol, have lived there for the past ten years and more.

For the purposes of the survey a migratory move was defined as a move between distinct places (for example a move from one address in London to another was not considered as a migratory move) and respondents had to stay in each place for at least one year for the move to be considered.

Part 1. Current Trends in Migration

In his studies in the 1880's based on birthplace data from the census, Ravenstein formed, what he called 'Laws of Migration'. His conclusions were certainly valid at the end of the last century, but since then several studies have modified these generalizations for there is no doubt that migration in modern industrial societies differs in several ways. An attempt is made here to see how current migrations compare to those at the turn of the century. Another important hypothesis, that migrants are 'pushed' from

Table III.1.
BIRTHPLACES OF RESPONDENTS
BY REGIONS AND DISTANCE

--M I G R A N T S--

											TOTAL, %
BRISTOL											25 5.9
England and Wales											
	1-25m	-50	-75	-100	-125	-150	-175	-200	-225	226+	
SW	29	14	15	3	8	1	1				71 16.7
W	3	23	11	2	3	1					43 10.1
SE			13	21	79	6	2	3			124 29.1
M			2	12	2						16 3.7
NM				2	9	1	1	1			14 3.2
NW					3	21	8	2			34 8.1
EWR						6	3	5			14 3.2
N									7	4	11 2.6
TOT.	32	37	41	40	104	36	15	11	7	4 (327)	
%	9.8	11.3	12.5	12.2	31.8	11.0	4.6	3.4	2.1	1.3 (100%)	

Average distance: 96.6 miles; S. E. 2.78 miles

Scotland	15	
N.Ireland	3	6.7
I.Republic	10	
Abroad	45	10.7
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	425	100.0

--N O N - M I G R A N T S--

BRISTOL											254 52.4
England and Wales											
SW	41	10	5	1	8	2	1				68 13.9
W	5	19	7		1	1					33 6.7
SE			9	3	30	2	3	2			49 10.1
M			2	10							12 2.5
NM				1	5	3	1				10 2.1
NW					2	6	2				10 2.1
EWR						2	3	1			6 1.2
N									3	7	10 2.1
TOT.	46	29	23	15	46	16	10	3	3	7 (198)	
%	23.3	14.6	11.8	7.6	23.3	8.1	5.0	1.4	1.4	3.5 (100%)	

Average distance: 82.7 miles; S.E. 4.24 miles

Scotland	5	
N. Ireland	2	1.8
I. Republic	2	
Abroad	25	5.1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	486	100.0

SW: South West; W: Wales; SE: South East; M:Midlands; NM:North Midlands;
NW: North West; EWR: East and West Ridings; N: North.

their places of origin and 'pulled' by the attraction of their destination is also tested here, since there is reason to believe that in current migrations, the 'push' element plays a less important role than it did previously.

1. Distances of Moves

In his studies, Ravenstein points out that the majority of moves were short-distance ones. However, recent studies show that distance no longer seems to be a barrier to movement. While it is true that more persons change address locally (5.1% of the 1961 population had moved within the Local Authority areas in one year, while 4.7% had migrated between these), once persons decide to make a break from their local surroundings, distance no longer plays such an important role. In their study of migratory moves between 1948-1949 Newton and Jeffery⁽¹⁾ pointed out that distance moved is more often over than under 40 miles. The 1961 census showed that 3 in 10 who had migrated between Local Authority areas during 1960-1961 had covered distances over 40 miles.

In the survey in Bristol, distances covered were very high. Almost 8 in 10 of the 327 migrants born in England and Wales, were born over 50 miles from Bristol, while average distance of birth-places from Bristol was 96.6 miles. However, as will be seen later, few people came directly from their birthplace to Bristol, so a more accurate picture is given by distances of last residences from Bristol. The average distance of last residences for the 358 migrants (2) migrants coming from England and Wales was 88.0 miles. But a higher proportion came from within 50 miles of Bristol than the proportion born there. (See tables III 1. and III 2.)

(1) op. cit. p.27.

(2) Though 327 of the 425 migrants were born in England and Wales, the last residence for 358 was in England and Wales for, some born in the rest of the British Isles and abroad, first went elsewhere in England and Wales before coming to Bristol.

Table III.2.

LAST RESIDENCES OF RESPONDENTS
BY REGIONS AND DISTANCE

--M I G R A N T S--

TOTAL %

England and Wales

	1-25m	-50	-75	-100	-125	-150	-175	-200	-225	226+		
SW	45	22	19	8	9	1	1				105	24.9
W	3	18	4	1	2	1					29	6.8
SE			15	28	83	10	3				139	32.9
M		3	4	19	4						30	7.0
NM				2	8	1	1	1			13	3.0
NW					3	18	1	1			23	5.4
EWR						4	5	2			11	2.5
N									4	4	8	1.8
TOT.	48	43	42	58	109	35	11	4	4	4	(358)	
%	13.4	12.0	11.7	16.2	30.5	9.8	3.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	(100%)	

Average distance: 88.0 miles; S.E. 2.52 miles

Scotland											12	
N.Ireland											2	4.2
I.Republic											4	
Abroad											49	11.5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS											425	100.0

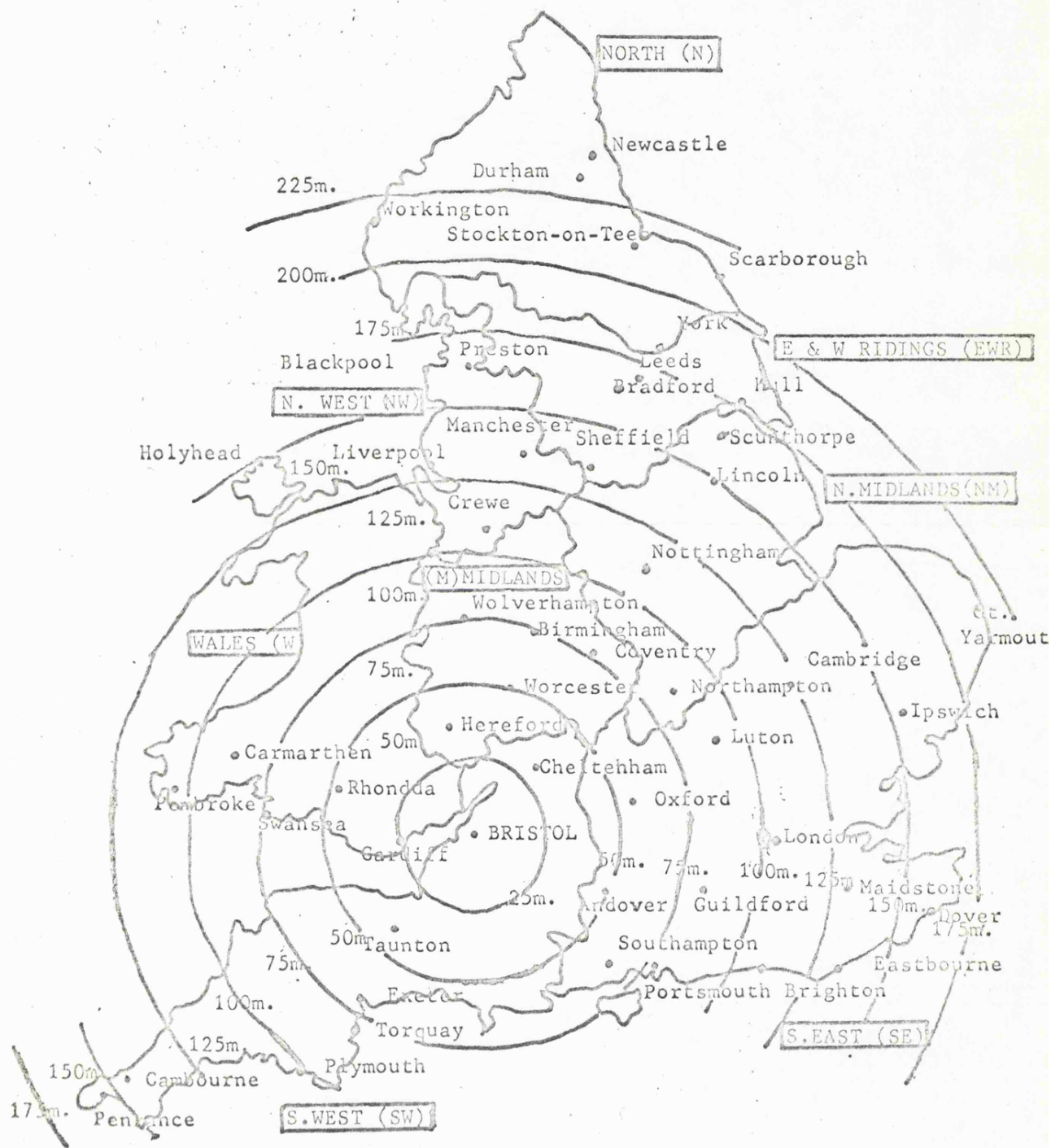
--N O N - M I G R A N T S--

BRISTOL ALL LIFE											160	32.9
England and Wales												
SW	58	14	6	1	8	2					89	18.4
W	2	15	6		1	1					25	5.2
SE		1	9	8	36	3	1				58	11.9
M		1	4	15							20	4.2
NM				1	7	1					9	1.8
NW					3	11	2	1			17	3.4
EWR						4	5	3			12	2.4
N									1	3		
TOT.	60	31	25	25	55	22	8	4	1	3	(234)	
	25.7	13.2	10.7	10.7	23.5	9.4	3.4	1.7	0.4	1.3	(100%)	

Average distance: 79.4 miles; S.E. 3.48 miles

Scotland											11	
N.Ireland											--	2.8
I.Republic											3	
Abroad											78	16.2
TOTAL RESPONDENTS											486	100.0

SW: South West; W: Wales; SE: South East; M: Midlands; NM: North Midlands;
NW: North West; EWR: East and West Ridings; N: North.



The survey also indicates that distances covered by migrants have been increasing. When average distances of birthplaces and last residences of migrants are compared with those who came to Bristol over ten years ago, it can be seen that recent migrants are coming from further away. Compared to the average of 96.6 miles for birthplaces of migrants, the average for those coming over ten years ago was 82.7 miles. Similarly average distances of last residences were respectively, 88.0 miles and 79.4 miles.

At first there may appear to be a discrepancy in the average distances covered in the survey compared to those found in the census. But this difference is explained by a glance at the accompanying map. The area covered and therefore the population included in the first circle around Bristol (radius 25 miles) is smaller than the area (and population) in the next band (25-50 miles) and so on. Because this is so, there are fewer people in the first band who could come from within 25 miles than those who could come from between 25-50 miles and this is fewer than those who could come from between 100-125 miles (which includes London). When distances are calculated in the census, since movements to every part of the country are considered, the above restrictions do not apply.

An attempt was thus made in the survey to standardize the number of movers by the approximate population in each band. When the numbers of migrants (in the past ten years) and non-migrants (coming to Bristol more than 10 years ago) are related to the population in each band the picture changes considerably: 76.80 migrants per million population and 68.80 non-migrants per million population came from within 25 miles of Bristol, the next highest ratios (from between 25-50 miles) being only 24.26 per million

Table III.3.

PROPORTIONS OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS
PER MILLION PERSONS IN EACH DISTANCE-BAND
(LAST RESIDENCE)

Band	miles	Approx. Pop.	M (Actual)	NM	M (Per million)	NM
0	1-25	625,000	48	43	76.80	68.80
1	26-50	1,772,500	43	25	24.26	14.10
2	51-75	2,392,500	42	20	17.55	8.36
3	76-100	6,210,750	58	23	9.34	3.70
4	101-125	9,640,890	109	46	11.31	4.77
5	126-150	6,775,380	35	18	5.17	2.66
6	151-175	3,913,320	11	7	2.81	1.79
7	176-200	1,602,500	4	2	2.50	1.25
8	201-225	1,045,000	4	1	3.83	0.96
9	226+	1,912,500	4	3	2.09	1.57

and 14.10 per million (see Table III 3)

However, the fact still remains that the actual migrants to Bristol have travelled long distances and part of the explanation for this can be attributed to the high social status of respondents.

Of 359 migrants in the sample who could be classified by the Registrar General's five classes, two thirds were in the two top and only 7.1% in the bottom two classes.(3) As Arnold M. Rose pointed out in his study (4) higher status persons move much longer distances than lower status persons. And this proved to be true in this survey.

Among 301 migrants whose present social class could be compared to distance of their last residence from Bristol, there was almost a perfect correlation between social class and distance moved. Average distances covered by migrants in the respective social classes were:

Social class	I	II	III	IV	V
Av. miles	104.1	80.8	74.4	76.6	58.8
n	76	129	79	11	6

In all cases except class IV, distance diminishes with social class. In the case of class IV, one came from between 201-225 miles thus influencing the average: the average distance covered by the remaining 10 persons being 63.0 miles. The correlation between social class and distance moved is very highly significant. One could conclude that for an increase of one point in the Registrar General's scale the distance travelled increases by 11.75 miles.

The larger proportion of high status persons in the sample compared to all migrants covered in a census, and the fact that high status persons are likely to move longer distances partly explains the high averages found in the survey. But higher social class is not the only reason for

(3) It will be remembered, however, that the enumeration districts chosen as the survey area were chosen solely on the basis of proportions of migrants in each.

(4) op. cit.

these long-distance moves, for even among manual workers, average distances were well over 40 miles.

Today, people are more aware than before of far distant opportunities and advantages. Press, radio and television have served to link persons on a national scale and news from even the most remote corner can be made known throughout the country within a matter of minutes. As far as persons in higher status jobs are concerned (and this applies to some skilled manual jobs as well) they are confronted daily in the national press with jobs and opportunities in distant places. In many cases the cost of moving is borne by the firms wishing to attract persons from other parts of the country.

On the other hand it has been shown 'That extended family relations can be maintained over great geographical distances because modern advances in communication techniques have minimized the socially disruptive effects of geographic distance'. (5)

The role of distance in inhibiting migration definitely seems to be on the decline. And if it is true that distance in migration tends to be increasing, then it is obvious that migrants are more likely to be persons who are able to adjust themselves to changing situations. A long distance move, in the majority of cases, implies changing ones job, making new friends, adjusting to local customs and may even affect respective roles of husbands and wives, who previous to migration depended on help from their respective families. The effects of these moves will be studied in subsequent chapters.

2. Absorption and Dispersion

A second generalization derived from Ravenstein's study is that persons immediately surrounding a growing city are absorbed first, their

(5) Litwak, E., 'Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion', American Sociological Review, February 1960, pp.385-394.

places being taken by persons from further away until the attractive force of the city is felt throughout the country. The process of dispersion is the inverse of this.

These processes characterized moves at the turn of the century when in fact, the majority of cities were in the expanding stages, but with the stabilization of cities a new phenomenon seems to be taking place. Latest figures from the census tend to show that while cities are attracting persons from long distances they are supplying persons to their immediate surroundings. More and more persons are taking advantage of living in the better surroundings afforded by the ever growing suburbs of large cities and of improved methods of transport to travel to and from their work in the parent city. The migratory moves in and out of London clearly illustrate this.

Using the 1961 census data on migration, net gains and losses between London and 125 other centres having 50,000 and more inhabitants were calculated. Circles increasing by 25 miles were drawn around London. For the centres within each band of 25 miles, net gains or losses from or to London were calculated. Results are given in Table III. 4.

Table III.4.

Net gains or losses made by 125 centres by
distance from London

miles	no. centres	centres gaining	centres losing	difference	persons gained	persons lost	net difference
1-25	56	54	2	+54	33,540	110	+33,430
26-50	12	12	-	+12	4,420	-	+ 4,420
51-75	13	9	4	+ 5	2,390	770	+ 1,620
76-100	8	6	2	+ 4	1,460	330	+ 1,130
101-125	11*	2	8	- 6	110	1,120	- 1,010
126-150	2	-	2	- 2	-	280	- 280
151-175	6	-	6	- 6	-	610	- 610
176-200	11*	2	8	- 6	110	750	- 640
201 +	6	-	6	- 6	-	800	- 800

* In each of these Distance bands there is one city where gains and losses balanced out.

In each of the distance-bands within 100 miles of London, more centres made net gains than those which made net losses and the number diminishes with the distance. Beyond the 100 miles radius more centres show net losses to London than those gaining from it. Thus a new pattern of migration is emerging in large cities: persons from far distant places are more likely to be attracted to the heart of the cities while more and more city dwellers are moving to the sub-urban fringe and in the case of large cities like London, these 'dormitory suburbs' could spread to centres many miles from the attracting city itself.

One can say with a fair amount of certainty that similar patterns

are emerging in other large cities. But census data are not adequate to make similar comparisons for other cities. However, one could distinguish in and out migration to and from a city between districts immediately surrounding that city and those further away. For example, in Bristol, total in-migrants (1960/61) amounted to 10,710 (excluding the 'rest of the British Isles' and 'abroad') and out-migrants 15,780 or a net loss of 5,070 to Bristol. But when a separation is made between districts immediately surrounding the city (6) and the rest of the country, the following results are obtained:

Bristol 1960/61			
	In	Out	Net
Immediate surroundings	2,200	7,380	-5,180
Rest of the country	8,510	8,400	+ 110

It is evident that while the city is gaining slightly from areas far away, it is losing to those districts on its urban fringe. This pattern confirms the one found in London.

However, it does seem that quite often individuals come to a particular place in stages. Distances of birthplaces and last residences of all those born and coming from a place in England and Wales were compared for migrants and those coming to Bristol over 10 years ago. Among migrants, 31.8% had come from a place nearer to Bristol than their birthplace, while among respondents coming to Bristol over 10 years ago, this proportion was 23.4%. But these proportions are small compared to those who do not migrate in stages and as we will show, when comparing birthplaces and previous residences, migrants have not in general, come progressively to Bristol but have been up and down the country.

(6) These include Kingswood U.D. Mangotsfield U.D. Sodbury R.D. Thornbury R.D. and Warmley R.D. in Gloucestershire and Bathavon R.D. Long Ashton R.D. and Keynsham U.D. in Somersetshire.

3. Net and gross migration

As early as the 1880's Ravenstein stated that each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current. However, mainly because of a lack of suitable data on migration, many authors have spoken of one-way drifts of population. These conclusions were generally based on net figures of migration while nothing was known of the gross in and out movements necessary to produce these net differences. An example of this is given by the belief in Britain of a 'drift to the South East.' However, considerable doubt has been cast on this assumption in the Registrar General's quarterly return for the 4th Quarter of 1966 (7) and even more so by the results of the 1961 census, the first to include a question on internal migration.

For the 62 counties of England and Wales (parts of Lincoln, Suffolk, Sussex and Yorkshire being considered as separate counties) the net difference, positive or negative, was compared to the total in and out movement or gross migration. If net is a fairly high proportion of gross migration this is indicative of a strong one-way movement but if net is only a small proportion of gross, then there are practically equal streams in and out of the area.

The highest proportions of net to gross were found in London County West Sussex, Bedfordshire and Montgomeryshire. In each of these, net was over 20% but it never exceeded a quarter of the gross movement. The streams out of London and Montgomery are appreciably larger than streams into them while the inverse is true of West Sussex and Bedfordshire. The above counties may thus be considered as the more important gaining or losing areas, but the vast majority of counties are not experiencing great gains or losses.

(7) The Registrar General's quarterly return for England and Wales: Quarter ended 31st December 1966, General Register Office, pp.29-31.

The idea that each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current definitely seems to be established and especially so in modern-day migrations.

4. Long distance-migration

From his data on migration Ravenstein concluded that long-distance migrants generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry. However, since the 1881 census when the urban population of England and Wales was about 68.0% of the total, the proportion of persons living in urban areas has been increasing so that by 1950, the urban population represented 80.0% of the total. (8) As a result of this urbanization, longest distance moves are not made by those going to urban areas but by movers between rural areas. Median distances covered in the 1961 census were: migrants between rural areas: 27.4 miles; urban to rural 15.1 miles; rural to urban 13.9 miles and lastly between urban areas 11.8 miles.

Migrations in Britain today thus seem to be characterized by shorter distance moves between urban centres although these remain numerically the most important moves accounting for 60.0% of all the moves made in the year 1960-61. On the other hand longest distance moves are made between rural areas, but numerically this is the smallest group, accounting for only 7.0% of all moves. The rural to urban moves, which at the turn of the century were probably the most important, have diminished considerably, accounting for only 13.0% of moves made in the year.

Urban to rural movements seem to be quite important accounting for a fifth of all moves made in 1960-61. One of the main reasons for this has already been discussed: people are tending more and more to settle on the urban fringes of large cities, most of which are defined by the census as

(8) Newton and Jefferey, op.cit. p.9.

rural districts. But another surprising difference, compared to migrations at the turn of the century, is that persons at retirement age are moving longer distances than younger persons. The median distance moved by 15-24 year olds in the census was 12.5 miles while the highest median was for the over 65's: 17.9 miles.

In the survey at Bristol when persons were asked where they would like to retire, among migrants and non-migrants (both Bristol-born and others) who mentioned a retirement place in England and Wales, migrants wanted to retire on average, 82.7 miles from Bristol and non-migrants 79.4 miles.

It would seem that young persons are already living in or near industrial centres when looking for first jobs or changing jobs, while those at retirement age have to move long distances from industrial areas to places of retirement of which the sea-coasts are the most popular.

One may almost say that the trend has reversed since Ravenstein presented his paper, for the long-distance migrants are either those moving between rural areas or those retiring from the great centres of commerce and industry.

5. Urban-rural and sex characteristics

The last two of Ravensteins laws state that natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas and that females are more migratory than males.

Since the 1961 census excluded the question on birthplace this first proposition cannot be verified from census data. However, the survey tended to show that a larger proportion of recent migrants were born in very large urban centres than the proportion of those coming to Bristol over 10 years ago:

Population	Recent Migrants %	+10 years residence %
+250,000	33.9	26.3
25,000-249,999	38.9	39.0
- 25,000	27.2	33.7

Recent migrants to Bristol tend more to be natives of large cities than those coming to Bristol in the past.

A further test on the number of moves made by those born in centres of varying sizes was carried out. Average number of moves per person among migrants born in four types of centres of varying size were:

Population	Av. Moves
+500,000	3.38
100,000-499,999	3.27
25,000- 99,999	3.06
25,000	3.19

This seems to indicate that those born in larger centres had made slightly more moves (except in the last two cases). But none of these differences in means were significant at the 95% level of confidence so that one must conclude that size of birthplace did not significantly influence the number of moves made by individuals.

Until results of the 1966 census, which included both a question on recent internal migration (for 1 year and for 5 years) and birthplace data are published it is difficult to test this hypothesis of Ravensteins.

Finally, concerning the sex characteristics of migrants, the 1961 census has shown that females are slightly less migratory than males: relative rates being 47.4 per 1,000 males and 46.7 per 1,000 females. Of course, this difference is only very slight and one may even conclude that males and females are equally migratory. However, there was an appreciable difference favouring females when comparing the economically active: 54.6 per 1,000 female workers compared to 48.2 per 1,000 male-workers had migrated between local authority areas in the year 1960-1961. This 'law' of migration thus seems to be proved for the economically active but in general, males and females tend to be equally mobile.

6. The Element of Force in Migrations

The majority of migrations in modern industrial settings seem to be taking place on an 'exchange' basis rather than being one-way movements of persons pushed or forced from one area to another. The latest census reveals that rural to urban moves account for very little and that three-fifths of migratory moves are taking place between urban areas. What is more, these moves taking place between urban areas are composed of persons with very similar characteristics. A comparison of age and sex of migrants between urban areas of the 10 regions of England and Wales was made.

The proportions by sex were so similar that none of them were found to differ significantly i.e. equal proportions of males and females are moving in and out of urban areas in all regions. When comparing average age of migrants moving in and out of urban areas, the difference of means was not significant for 7 of the 10 regions. However, the average age of those moving to the Southern region and Wales was significantly higher than those moving out, while the average for those moving out of London-South East was just significantly higher than those moving in. This situation could be explained by the attraction of the Southern Coast towns for older persons, by the return to Wales of persons who, born there, have worked elsewhere and return on retirement, and of course, in the case of London there is a general movement, as we have seen earlier, to dormitory suburbs which may stretch beyond the borders of the regional boundary. But in general, one may conclude that migration between urban centres, except in a few cases, is composed of persons of very similar characteristics and is therefore, more representative of an 'exchange' of similar persons than of a one-way movement of persons of particular characteristics.

A question was asked in the survey to ascertain whether certain persons

felt that they were forced to move from their former place to Bristol. Exactly a third felt that they had been forced.

An analysis of these 'forced' moves was made. Main reason given for moving by 42.5% of forced movers was of course, lack of work in their former place. But a further 15.6% gave 'personal reasons' and 11.5% had simply been transferred by their firms.

At the turn of the century the main reasons for being forced to move were poor economic conditions at the place of origin. The majority of studies using the 'push' concept have focussed on this economic aspect so that here, we may exclude those giving personal reasons. On the other hand a majority of the 16 who had been transferred did not resent the change: three quarters found Bristol the same or better than the place they lived in before and said that their job was better, all married among these said they were very satisfied while only 3 of their wives were dissatisfied. If those who were transferred and those who gave personal reasons are excluded, then the 'force' factor can be said to be operative for just under a quarter (24.2%) of moves. But since 33.3% of respondents themselves 'felt' they were forced to move, one can be sure that forced moves do not account for more than a third.

The proportion of all who felt they were forced (including transfer and personal reasons) tended to be related to population size of last residence, the smaller the population centre, the more who felt they were forced.

London	26.3%
+100,000	30.5%
25,000-99,999	30.9%
-25,000	40.6%

Thus it would appear that forced migrations are more likely to be from smaller towns and rural areas, but as we have seen earlier, rural to urban

moves accounted for only 13% of all moves made in 1960/61, so that it seems likely that forced migrations are on the decline.

There is no doubt that their move to Bristol was beneficial, over two thirds felt Bristol was a little or much better than the place they were in before, 4 in 10 had better housing in Bristol, over half of workers felt their jobs in Bristol were better and over 4 in 10 said they enjoyed a higher standard of living than in their former place.

One may conclude that while 'force' still operates for a third of moves it is no longer the most important aspect and that other factors should be given greater consideration. These will be studied in detail in Chapter VII on Career Mobility.

Part 2. Limitations of Birthplace Data

The majority of studies on internal migration have simply compared place of birth of individuals with their places at the time of a census. However, this information is often misleading and tells little of current migratory moves. In this survey it is possible to compare birthplaces and last residences and thus to measure the extent of limitations of birthplace data. Birthplace will be compared to places lived most life, places considered as 'home', last residences and the number of moves made between birthplace and Bristol. Migratory characteristics of those born abroad (usually excluded when birthplace data is used in these studies) and the Bristol-born who have migrated elsewhere and returned, will also be studied. (See Table III.5.)

1. Places lived most life.

Because birthplaces could be misleading if a respondent just happened to be born in a particular place without associating it with

Table III.5.
REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF BIRTHPLACES
WITH
PLACES LIVED MOST LIFE AND LAST RESIDENCES

<u>--M I G R A N T S--</u>					
Area	(a) %Birthpl.	(b) %Most Life	(c) %Diff.(1) (a-b)	(d) %L.Resid.	(e) %Diff.(1) (a-d) (2)
Bristol	5.9	8.5	+2.6	----	(-5.9) (2)
SW	16.7	18.3	+1.6	24.9	+8.2
W	10.1	9.9	-0.2	6.8	-3.3
SE	29.1	30.5	+1.4	32.9	+3.8
M	3.7	4.4	+0.7	7.0	+3.3
NM	3.2	2.8	-0.4	3.0	-0.2
NW	8.1	7.1	-1.0	5.4	-2.7
EWR	3.2	1.8	-1.4	2.5	-0.7
N	2.6	2.1	-0.5	1.8	-0.8
B.Isles	6.7	5.4	-1.3	4.2	-2.5
Abroad	10.7	9.2	-1.5	11.5	+0.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	0	100.0	0

<u>--N O N - M I G R A N T S--</u>					
Bristol	52.4	85.9	+33.5	32.9	(-19.5) (2)
SW	13.9	3.5	-10.4	18.4	+4.5
W	6.7	1.4	-5.3	5.2	-1.5
SE	10.1	3.8	-6.3	11.9	+1.8
M	2.5	0.8	-1.7	4.2	+1.7
NM	2.1	0.4	-1.7	1.8	-0.3
NW	2.1	0.8	-1.3	3.4	+1.3
EWR	1.2	1.2	--	2.4	+1.2
N	2.1	-	-2.1	0.8	-1.3
B.Isles	1.8	0.8	-1.0	2.8	+1.0
Abroad	5.1	1.4	-3.7	16.2	+11.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	0	100.0	0

SW: South West; W: Wales; SE: South East; M: Midlands; NM: North Midlands; NW: North West; EWR: East and West Ridings; N: North.

(1) A plus denotes that a higher proportion lived most lives or had last residences in the region than the proportion born there, a minus denotes the inverse.

(2) This proportion represents the Bristol-born who left Bristol at some time in their lives and returned again.

the major part of his life, respondents were asked where they had lived for most of their lives. Only 69.0% of migrants said they had lived for most of their lives in the same area as their birth-place. (9)

While 7 in 10 foreign born said they had lived most of their lives somewhere in Britain, 7 British-born had lived most of their lives abroad.

Among the London-born migrants, a third had lived most of their lives elsewhere. Just under a third who had spent most of their lives in London were not born there. Just under half of those who spent most of their lives in small villages (<5,000), were born in centres with 10,000 and more inhabitants.

Only a fifth of those coming to Bristol over 10 years ago had lived most of their lives in the same area as their birthplaces. But all Bristol born residents said they had lived most of their lives there.

This difference between birthplace and places spent most of life was confirmed by studying migration histories: the largest number of years spent in a place other than birthplace was calculated. Among migrants, over 40% had spent more than 10 years in a place other than birthplace. Since these migrants have come in the past 10 years, they have spent this period in a place other than birth-place before coming to Bristol. On average, the largest number of years spent in

(9) Definition of 'area': There are 10 Standard Regions in England and Wales. Within each of these, distances were marked off in circles of 25 miles each around Bristol. An 'area' is a combination of Region and distance e.g. London is in area S.E.4. because it is in the South East Region and between 100-125 miles from Bristol. There are thus 42 areas in England and Wales with one each for Scotland, Northern Ireland, Irish Republic and Abroad. Bristol is also treated as a separate area (see map).

a place other than birthplace, by all migrants, was 9.8 years. Among residents coming to Bristol over ten years ago, more than half had spent 25 years in a place other than birthplace. All, of course have spent over ten years in a place other than birthplace, since they have been in Bristol for longer than ten years.

2. Attachment.

Migrants to Bristol were asked if there was any other place which they felt was really 'home' for them. Exactly half replied 'no' to this question. Among those who did name another place 55.2% mentioned a place in the same area as their birthplace. Of those who said 'home' was in the South West, 40% were not born there. Under a quarter of the London born considered it as home, while less than a third of the village born (-5,000) said 'home' was a village too.

Asked why they were thus attached to another place, 59.9% replied because other members of the family were there. The next highest proportion (16.4%) said that it was the place where they were brought up and 9.1% said they had lived the longest period of their lives there. The remaining replies were scattered among other reasons like 'friendlier neighbours' and 'better facilities'.

3. Previous Residences.

Since the numbers who have spent most of their lives at their birthplaces are smaller than one would expect, few respondents have come to Bristol, directly from their birthplace. When birthplace statistics are used, the direction of migratory moves is simply plotted as a straight line between birthplace and census place while nothing is known of moves made between these. Among migrants

25 had been born in Bristol but left and had come back in the past 10 years. While 6 of these came back from abroad the rest came from an average of 81.4 miles away. Among the remaining migrants only 38.0% came to Bristol from the same area as their birthplaces. Slightly more than half of residents (who came to Bristol over 10 years ago) came from the same area as their birthplace.

There seems to be fairly large differences between birthplace and last residence, which again emphasizes the limitations of birthplace statistics for studying migration.

This lack of similarity between birthplace and last residence is supported by the number of moves made by respondents. The average number of total moves (made with parents and independently) made by migrants, was 3.8 each, with almost a quarter making 5 moves and more before coming to Bristol. The average number of moves made by all residents (except 160 Bristol-born who had never moved) was 2.6 each, but only 6.4% had made 5 moves and more.

It would be interesting to trace the exact routes taken by migrants between birthplaces and arrival in Bristol. However, to do this for 425 cases would not only be cumbersome but impossible to interpret. Thus, a few 'extreme' cases were isolated for this type of inspection. These included those born in Scotland, in the Northern Region, in the East-West Ridings, in the North Midlands, in the extreme South West (i.e. over 50 miles from Bristol covering mostly Devon and Cornwall or the 'far West' as it is sometimes called) and finally 45 born abroad. For each of these groups average number of independent moves (excluding those made with parents) were calculated. Only regions are taken into account when comparing birthplaces and last residences. Figures are shown in Table III 6.

Average number of moves were fairly high (close to three each except for those born in the South West.) Only 42.5% came to Bristol from the same region as the one in which they were born. Just under a quarter had

Table III.6.

BIRTHPLACES AND PREVIOUS MOVES
FOR SELECTED REGIONS

<u>LAST RESID.</u>	SC.	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>		NM	SW (+50m)	ABR.	TOTAL
		N	EWR				
SC.	<u>6</u>		2			1	9
N		<u>3</u>				1	4
EWR			<u>3</u>	1	1		5
NM	1		1	<u>2</u>		2	9
SW(+50m)					<u>18</u>	1	19
ABROAD	3	3	2		1	<u>19</u>	28
ELSEWHERE	5	5	6	8	8	21	53
TOTAL	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>127</u>
AV. MOVES	3.1	3.5	3.1	2.4	2.9	2.8	

Of the 127 cases studied, only 54 (42.5%) (those underlined in the diagonal) came from the same area as their birthplace.

SC:Scotland; N:North; EWR:East and West Ridings;NM: North Midlands; SW(+50m):South West, over 50 miles from Bristol.

passed through the South East on their way to Bristol. While an appreciable number born in Devon and Cornwall came directly to Bristol, 9 persons by-passed Bristol on their way to the South East, the Midlands the East-West Ridings and abroad. Almost 2 in 3 of those born in the North of the Country (Scotland, Northern and East-West Ridings) did not come to Bristol directly, but came progressively closer by subsequent moves.

4. Migratory Characteristics of Foreign-Born.

All persons born outside of England and Wales will be considered here. This includes those born in the rest of the British Isles and abroad. Migrants and those coming to Bristol over 10 years ago will be considered together though averages will be weighted since 1 in 4.8 of the former and 1 in 14.1 of the latter were sampled. (10)

In all, 73 migrants and 34 non-migrants were born outside of England and Wales, when compared to the total of all those not born in Bristol, they represented 16.0%. Thus it can be said that when migration studies are based on birthplace data, at least a sixth of migratory persons are excluded because birthplace was outside the study area.

Average number of moves made by this group was 3.35 each. However, this includes the move from outside into England and Wales. Of the total, 21.1% had made only one move to date, but after excluding one move each from the rest, the average number of moves was still high: 3.0 each. This proves that persons born abroad are often very mobile internally as well, and when asked if they intended leaving Bristol one day 45.4% said they wanted to.

Just under half had lived most of their lives in England and Wales, so it was not surprising to find that the last residence for 52.0% was

(10) See Chapter II

within England and Wales.

And a fair number said they were not born in the same place as their parents, which indicates that these were migratory too: 34.2% said their father's birthplace was not the same as their own and 27.4% said this of their mothers.

This leaves no doubt that the foreign-born are generally very mobile internally as well, and that studies excluding these ignore an important group of internal migrants. Similar limitations are found in studying migratory characteristics of returnees.

5. Returnees

Of all persons born in Bristol (25 migrants and 254 non-migrants) 39.1% had left Bristol at some time and returned by the time of the survey. Thus, migratory moves based on birthplace data, appear to ignore an appreciable number of moves because census-place and birthplace coincide.

Average number of moves made by this group was 2.9 each. However, a majority (63.2%) made only two moves: which indicates a move from Bristol and the return move to Bristol. But over a third had made more than two moves, which shows that an appreciable number of migratory moves are lost by considering birthplace data only. A further 15.3% had definite intentions of leaving Bristol on day.

It is surprising to note that the average maximum number of years spent in a place away from Bristol by these 'returnees' was as high as 8.8 years, as many as 30.3% spending 10 years and more in one place outside of Bristol. However, only 1.3% considered having lived most of their lives in a place other than Bristol.

While the last address before returning to Bristol was outside of England and Wales for just under half the remainder returned from places on average 68.1 miles from Bristol.

This leaves no doubt that when census-place and birthplace coincide there is reason to believe that large proportions of what is termed as the 'stable' population, are in fact quite mobile and in many cases differ to some extent from the completely immobile populations as will be shown in the next section when a study is made of 160 persons who have never lived anywhere else but in Bristol.

Part 3. Migratory Backgrounds

This last section will throw light on the migratory backgrounds of migrants: whether their moves are influenced by those made by their parents, whether migration at an early age influences subsequent migration and the main characteristics of persons who never move.

1. Migration of Parents.

A test was made to find out if persons originating from migratory backgrounds are more migratory themselves, than those without a migratory history in the family. As an index of migratory family, respondents were divided into two groups depending on whether they were born in the same place as their fathers or not. Among migrants 47.0% of those knowing father's birthplace were not born in the same place and this proportion was 38.7% for non-migrants..

Average number of total moves made by each of the groups was calculated and there seemed to be a clear relationship between migratory backgrounds and average number of moves.

Among non-migrants, average number of moves among those born, and those not born in the same place as their fathers were respectively, 1.59 and 1.96 the difference just being significant while among migrants these averages were respectively, 3.27 and 4.33 the difference being very highly significant.

It is obvious that the person born in a 'migratory' family would be more aware and more informed about places other than his home town, through conversations of his parents and probably also through visits made by parents to relatives and friends in other parts of the country.

2. Age and Migration.

The only differential to be found with some consistency in various studies of migration is that concerning age: persons in their late teens twenties and early thirties are much more migratory than those in other age groups. An attempt is made here to see if age at first migratory move is correlated with the number of subsequent moves. Since these will depend on the present age of respondents, they were grouped into 4 categories. Within each of these groups a separation was made between those who had made their first moves before 20 and at 20 and after. The average number of moves made to date was then calculated and are set out below. Only migrants are taken into account since the numbers in each group for non-migrants were too small.

Pres. Age	Migrants		diff.
	before 20	20 and after	
21-30	2.39	1.51	0.88
31-40	4.63	2.71	1.92
41-50	5.53	3.55	1.98
51+	6.25	4.00	2.25

In each age-group the average number of moves made by those making a first move before 20 was very highly significantly larger than by those making first moves at 20 and after and the difference in means increased by age group which is another indication that those in the younger ages are very likely to move again.

This section considered age at first independent moves only (not including moves with parents) so it would appear that migrants are not only likely to come from migrant parents but would also experience independent migration at an early age.

3. Characteristics of non-movers.

Among Bristol born respondents, 160 (63.0%) had lived in Bristol all their lives, without ever having left. How do these persons who never move compare to others? An interesting study in Georgia U.S.A. used Merton's distinction between cosmopolitans and locals to study the effect of these latent social roles on the decision to move. (11) It was found that latent roles of Physicians were more important in determining their propensity to migrate than variables traditionally discussed in migration studies.

An attempt is made here to study these latents social roles for migrants and non-migrants and then for three groups of non-migrants: Bristol born who have never moved, Bristol-born who have left and returned and non-migrants not born in Bristol but living there over 10 years. Measures used here to determine whether respondents were cosmopolitans or locals follow closely those used in the American study. Cosmopolitans were considered as 1) committed to professional skills; were better trained and found greater interest in their work; 2) having little loyalty to the community in which they lived: they did not intend staying there all their lives and participated in fewer local groups and 3) having reference groups which were not specific to the community.

In order to measure commitment to professional skills in the present study, two questions were used: the first compared terminal education age of respondents and the second determined how committed respondents were to their work. Migrants tended much more than non-migrants to continue schooling after age 18. While close on two-thirds of non-migrants finished at age 15 or before just under

(11) Brown, L.A. and Belcher, J.C. "Residential mobility of Physicians in Georgia", Rural Sociology, Vol. 31, no. 4, Dec. 1966.

Table III.7.

COSMOPOLITANS AND LOCALS

	Migrants	All Non-Migrants	Br.born Nev.moved	Br.born returned	Other N-Migr.
N=	425	486	160	94	232
a) <u>Terminal Education Age</u>					
15yrs. and less	22.0%	57.0%	66.3%	65.9%	47.4%
16-18	33.4	31.9	30.0	26.6	34.9
over 18	44.6	11.1	3.7	7.5	17.7
b) <u>Professional Orientation</u>					
Present job is..					
Livelihood	13.2%	10.7%	15.6%	6.4%	9.1%
Interesting as home	45.6	40.0	34.4	57.4	36.6
Most interesting	18.4	15.2	13.1	16.0	16.4
Not working	22.8	34.1	36.9	20.2	37.9
<u>Av.score on Professional commitm.</u>	<u>2.05</u>	<u>1.24</u>	<u>0.98</u>	<u>1.31</u>	<u>1.40</u>
c) <u>Retirement in Community</u>					
Proportion 'yes'	17.9%	56.5%	50.6%	60.6%	53.9%
d) <u>Membership of local groups</u>					
Proportion 'yes'	30.6%	72.4%	66.9%	70.2%	79.3%
<u>Av.score on 'lack' of attachm.to Community</u>	<u>0.795</u>	<u>0.570</u>	<u>0.612</u>	<u>0.606</u>	<u>0.526</u>
e) <u>Local Best Friends</u>					
Proportion 'yes'	46.6%	77.7%	80.6%	77.7%	77.6%
f) <u>Turn to 'locals' in emergency</u>					
Proportion 'yes'	70.4%	77.7%	84.4%	76.6%	75.4%
<u>Av.score on non-local reference groups</u>	<u>0.831</u>	<u>0.428</u>	<u>0.350</u>	<u>0.457</u>	<u>0.470</u>
<u>AVERAGE COSMOPOLITAN SCORES</u>					
	<u>3.67</u>	<u>2.24</u>	<u>1.94</u>	<u>2.37</u>	<u>2.39</u>

half of migrants continued after age 18. The difference in distributions was very highly significant. But there were important differences too among non-migrants not born in Bristol and all the Bristol born. While two-thirds of the latter had finished school at age 15 or before, less than half of the former had done so.

While a third of non-migrants were not working, this was just over a fifth of migrants. Slightly higher proportions of migrants were professionally oriented in so far as they found their work either as interesting as the things they did at home or more interesting. Among non-migrants, while roughly equal proportions (just over a third) of Bristol-born non-movers and non-Bristol borns were not working, this proportion was just over a fifth of Bristol-born returnees. Higher proportions of returnees and non-Bristol borns found their work interesting than the proportion among Bristolians who had never moved.

In endeavouring to obtain an overall idea of commitment to professional skills scores were allotted: those having a terminal education age of 16-18 years scored 1, those over 18 years scored 2 and the rest scored zero. Those finding their jobs very interesting also scored 2, as interesting as the things they did at home 1, and the rest, including those not working scored zero. On this basis, migrants had an average 'professional commitment' score of 2.05 compared to 1.24 among non-migrants. Highest average among all non-migrants was attained by those not born in Bristol, this was followed by Bristol born returnees and finally the Bristol-born who had never moved. Commitment to profession thus definitely seems to be related to migratory moves: the less a person is involved in his career, the less likely he is to move at all.

Measures of loyalty to the community were based on whether respondents wanted to retire (or had already retired) in Bristol and whether they belonged to any local groups. Among migrants less than a fifth intended retiring in Bristol while over half of non-

migrants were either already retired or intended retiring in Bristol. But the highest proportion of non-migrants wanting to retire in Bristol was that of returnees: apparently they had seen other places but preferred coming back to Bristol to retire.

While over 7 in 10 non-migrants belonged to a local group, just over 3 in 10 migrants belonged to one (Note that this refers only to 'local' clubs and therefore, persons who belonged to students clubs or Trade Unions only are not considered as belonging to local clubs). Surprisingly the highest proportion of non-migrants belonging to a local club, was found among those coming to Bristol over ten years ago.

A 'cosmopolitan' score was given to all those who did not intend retiring in Bristol (1 point) and to all who did not belong to a local group (1 point). Here averages for migrants and non-migrants were .795 and .570 the difference being the smallest on the three measures of cosmopolitanism. Among all non-migrants this score was very similar for Bristol born respondents, both those who had migrated and those who had not. But non-migrants born elsewhere tended to be more attached to Bristol than the Bristol-born.

Finally, reference groups were based on respondents best friends and those they would turn to in necessity. A distinction was made between groups which were specifically local (neighbours, people in associations etc.) and others. While the best friends of under half of migrants were local, almost 8 in 10 non-migrants had local best friends. There were little differences in proportions among the three groups of non-migrants. Asked who they would turn to in time of necessity, almost 3 in 10 migrants mentioned someone who was not local while this proportion for non-migrants was just over 2 in 10. While about a quarter each of non-migrants who had lived elsewhere than in Bristol, said they would turn to non-local friends, this proportion was only 15.6% of Bristolians who had never moved.

11 All those having best friends who were not local and who would turn to a non-local source of aid, scored one each on the cosmopolitan scale while the rest scored zero. Here the difference in average scores between migrants and non-migrants was .403. Lowest average scorers were the Bristol-born who had never moved, those of the other two groups of migrants being fairly similar. It would appear that persons who never move are the least likely to have reference groups outside the local community.

Overall scores of cosmopolitanism showed that migrants had an average score that was very significantly higher than that of all non-migrants. And the relationship between cosmopolitanism and migration was borne out when comparing groups of non-migrants. When those who had never moved were compared to non-migrants not born in Bristol, differences in averages were very significantly higher favouring the latter. When non-movers were compared to Bristol born returnees the differences in average scores were just significantly higher for the latter. Thus the highest score on cosmopolitanism was made by migrants, this was followed by non-migrants not born in Bristol, then came Bristolians who had migrated and returned and finally Bristolians who had never moved.

Persons who never move thus tend to be very local in outlook. What other characteristics distinguish them from the rest?

The average age of this group was 50.2 years, only 18.1% being under 30 years old at the time of the survey, which would tend to indicate that few are likely to move in the future. In fact, only 18.8% said they would leave Bristol, main reasons given being 'work' and going to a place with a better climate: each mentioned by 3 in 10 intending movers. Those who had no intention of leaving Bristol gave as main reasons 'being close to relatives and friends' and 'having lived there all their lives they wouldn't dream of leaving'.

However, if these persons had never left Bristol it did not mean that they were completely immobile: only 3 persons had lived at the same address in Bristol all their lives. As for the rest, they had lived in an average of 3.96 different places in Bristol, more than a quarter having lived at 5 or more addresses.

Nor were their backgrounds completely un-migratory. Of those who knew where their fathers had been born, over a third said fathers were not Bristol-born. This proportion (29.5%) was slightly less for those knowing where mothers were born.

And these Bristolians had other relationships with non-Bristolians. Over 4 in 10 of the married respondents said their wives were not Bristol born and 30.3% said they visited relatives living outside of Bristol.

However, immobility was reflected in the social status of respondents: only 37.1% were in top non-manual jobs compared to 47.5% of returnees and 57.1% of non-migrants not born in Bristol. These Bristolians who had never moved were highly concentrated in manual jobs: 44.3%. But as many as 40.3% of returnees were also in manual jobs compared to only 27.6% of non-migrants not born in Bristol.

Geographical immobility also tended to be related to social immobility. Those in the same social class as their fathers represented 4 in 10 of the immobile, a quarter of returnees and 3 in 10 of non-migrants not born in Bristol. But while about a quarter each of the other two groups of non-migrants were in lower status classes than their fathers, this was only 18.5% of the Bristol born who never moved.

In conclusion, it could be said that persons who never move in the migratory sense are the most likely to be 'local' in outlook even if they are mobile within a given area. Local mobility means a move which does not sever ties with local communities, relatives and

friends. Being close to relatives and friends was one of the principal reasons given for not wanting to leave Bristol in future. But about 3 in 10 would have either or both parents from a place other than Bristol and about 4 in 10 would marry a person born elsewhere. Similarly over a third would be likely to visit relatives living elsewhere. Non-movers were highly representative of manual occupations and were less likely than movers to be socially mobile.

CONCLUSION

Since it would seem that few 'laws' of migration hold at all times and in all places, one can but characterize current trends in migration. From census and survey data, the following trends describe migration in Britain today:

- 1) Distances covered by migrants tend to be increasing with time: long distance moves implying the severing of local ties and re-establishing oneself in a new community account for a large proportion of internal moves.
- 2) Large cities tend to be attracting long-distance migrants who settle in the heart of these cities while an ever-increasing number of city residents are migrating to the urban fringes of cities.
- 3) One way drifts of the population are the exception rather than the rule. Results of the first census to include a question on migration indicate that net migration is only a very small proportion of gross moves: in other words each migratory current is accompanied by a counter current which is, in most cases, almost equal in size.
- 4) Because Britain has become so urbanized, longest distance moves are no longer made by those going to urban centres but by those moving away from them and migrants between rural areas. This has a particular effect on persons at retirement age: They have to move long distances from cities to quieter places of retirement.
- 5) Natives of towns tend to be becoming more mobile than those born in rural areas: they represent a higher proportion of all migrants and tend to make more moves, on average although these averages in the

survey were not significantly higher than average moves made by rural natives.

6) Rates of migration tend to be similar between males and females though there is a tendency for females in the labour force to be more mobile.

7) Migrations where persons are forced to move tend to be on the decline. Most migrants have a choice of moving or not moving.

The above tends to characterize the nature of migratory moves in a modern industrial setting. Up to the present, little has been known about migratory moves, but in recent years more and more censuses have been including questions on internal migration.

In part two of this chapter we have tried to show the extent of limitations of available data for studies of internal migration. Over 3 in 10 do not associate their birthplaces with the places they have lived most life; close on half do not think on their birthplaces as "home" and a large majority have made several moves so that moves based on birthplace data cannot give a clear picture of current directions of migration. Finally, since birthplace data ignores all born abroad as well as 'returnees' a large proportion of migratory moves are not taken into account.

There is no doubt that if reasonably accurate figures of migratory moves are to be obtained, this can only be done by direct questions in the census.

Finally, significant relationships were found between migratory backgrounds and rates of migration of respondents. Because of the important role of the family in the socialization of the child it is not surprising to find that children from families who have migrated are likely to be more aware of possibilities elsewhere and thus more likely to migrate themselves.

The last section throws some light on non-movers. They were predominantly 'local' in outlook, highly representative of lower status occupations and attached importance to kin and friendship

connections, so that even when they did move house they remained within easy reach of their family and friends i.e. the majority of them had moved, but within the city boundaries. They had limited contact with persons who were not Bristolians through mothers, fathers or wives who were born elsewhere and through visits to relatives who were living outside. Their close attachment was further revealed by the fact that 2 in 3 had already retired or intended to retire in Bristol.

While this chapter has tried to show the distinctive characteristics of current migratory moves, the following chapter will compare migrants' characteristics to those of the non-migrant population.

Chapter IV

MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS

INTRODUCTION

Differential migration is the selectivity of certain persons or the tendency of certain groups (ages, sex, class etc.) to be more migratory than others. The previous chapter based both on census data and on the survey has shown the distinctive characteristics of current migratory moves. This chapter poses a further question: "How do persons who move differ from the stable population?" Ideally, one should compare migrants to non-migrants both in places of origin and in places of destination. But since migrants in this survey are from different geographical origins, it is not possible to compare them to the populations from which they originate, so comparisons are made with the population at their destination.

However, since this survey was based on households, with most of the information referring to the head of the household, there are certain restrictions. For instance, in every household where there was a married couple all information refers to the husband. Females were only interviewed if they were single or divorced/widowed. Differences in age groups of migrants and residents⁽¹⁾ were also accentuated. For a resident to have become a head of household, he would have had to leave his original household and gone to live elsewhere in the city. But these age, sex, marital status and other basic differences are not of great importance in the survey since they are generally covered in the census. They will simply be described in the first section of the chapter.

But the value of a survey compared to a census will be seen when a control is made for basic characteristics. As it was stated in chapter II, migrants and residents were matched on four items: age, sex, marital status and employment status. Any differences

(1) The word "residents" is often used to denote non-migrants.

thus found between the two groups can, with a high degree of certainty, be attributed to migrant or resident status. Are migrants more highly educated? Are they in higher status jobs? Are they economically better off? What types of houses do they live in and what amenities do they have? This chapter will try to answer these questions for both the total sample and for the matched groups, each time ascertaining whether migrants differ significantly from residents.

However, while significance tests are fairly straightforward in the total samples, matching introduces a certain dependence between groups and various significance tests have to be used for the different types of comparison. In an appendix to this chapter, examples of significance tests used in the matched groups will be given. Another difficulty encountered when making significance tests in matched samples is, that the moment either a migrant or a resident cannot be compared on a given characteristic, his matched partner has to be excluded as well, so that, although there are originally 233 matched pairs, this number can easily be reduced on specific items. For example, when asked to state to which class they belonged, 17 matched migrants and 21 matched residents said they didn't know. Thus the corresponding 17 residents and 21 migrants (with same age, sex, marital and employment status) had to be discarded, and comparisons made with the remaining 195 pairs. In each table presented in this chapter the total number (N) is usually 425 migrants and 486 residents for the total sample and 233 each in matched samples. Whenever these total numbers are not used, the actual numbers compared, will be given.

1. Basic Characteristics

The basic characteristics are given here but no reference is made to matched groups, since, in general, these are the characteristics on which respondents were matched. Significant differences are given in table IV.1. but care must be taken in interpretation of

Table IV 1.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Percentages)

CHARACTERISTIC		Migrants	Residents	Difference	(1) χ^2 (2)
AGE					
Average in years		36.3	52.3	-16.0	+++
SEX					
Males	%	78.6	73.9	+ 4.7	n.s..
Females	%	21.4	26.1	- 4.7	
MARITAL STATUS					
Single	%	29.2	9.2	+20.0	+++
Married	%	65.2	68.5	- 3.3	
Divorced/Widowed	%	5.6	22.3	-16.7	
PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD	(N = 1215 M and 1416 R) (3)				
Average		2.86	2.91	- 0.05	n.s..
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION					
1. Total					
- Adults (+15y)	%	75.6	82.0	- 6.4	+++
- Children	%	24.4	18.0	+ 6.4	
2. ADULTS ONLY	(N = 918M and 1161R) (3)				
- Males	%	45.0	45.3	- 0.3	n.s..
- Females	%	55.0	54.7	+ 0.3	

(1) All differences refer to migrants: e.g. migrants are 16.0 years younger than residents and are represented by 4.7% more males than residents.

(2) Significant differences where $p < 0.05$ are marked with one asterisk; $p < 0.01$ with two and $p < 0.001$ with three while non-significant differences are marked n.s.

(3) N = 425 migrants and 486 residents unless otherwise stated.

of these, since as we have mentioned, these differences are partly due to the sampling procedure used.

The average age of migrants was 36.3 years, that of residents 52.3 years, a very highly significant difference (because the electoral register was used no respondents are under 21). While almost 3 in 10 migrants were aged 21-25 years, over a quarter of residents were over 65 years old. These age differences were obviously accentuated by the sampling procedure and the 1961 census gives a better idea of age differences between migrants and the total population. Average age for migrants between Local Authority areas was 34.1 years while that of the total population was 36.4 years. This difference in average ages is very highly significant.

There were no significant differences in the proportions of males and females among migrants and residents interviewed in the survey, males representing in both cases about three-quarters of respondents. But striking differences were found as far as marital status is concerned. While almost 3 in 10 migrants were single, just under a quarter of residents were divorced or widowed. However, this meant that almost equal proportions of married migrants and residents were interviewed.

The 425 migrant households contained 1,215 persons while the 486 resident households contained 1,416 persons, the difference in average number of persons per household being 0.5 more in resident households and certainly not significant. But migrant households contained a higher proportion of persons aged under 15 years. These represented 24.4% of all persons in migrant households and 18.0% in resident households, the difference being very highly significant. However, if these under 15's are excluded the proportions of males and females over 15 years in migrant and resident households, is almost identical: around 45% males.

2. Education

That migrants are generally of higher educational level was convincingly borne out in the present survey. Respondents were asked to state their own terminal education age, that of their fathers and for those having children at school, the proposed terminal education age of these. Respondents also stated whether or not they held various degrees. (see table IV.2.)

Terminal educational age of the father's of respondents throw light on the backgrounds of these. But because many didn't know father's terminal education age, replies refer to 291 migrant and 292 resident fathers in the total sample and 101 each in the matched sample.

Though in general, fathers of both migrants and residents left school at an early age (62.2% migrants' and 76.7% residents' fathers left at age 15 and before) migrants came from much higher educational backgrounds than did residents. While 6.2% more migrants' than residents' fathers left school between ages 16 and 18, a further 8.3% more than residents' fathers continued after age 18. And differences among fathers of matched migrants and residents continued to be significant but to a lower degree than in the total sample. A significantly larger proportion of migrants thus came from higher educational backgrounds.

And this difference in backgrounds was reflected in the educational level of respondents. While almost 6 in 10 residents left school at age 15 and before, only a fifth of migrants had done so. And four times more migrants than residents continued studies after age 18. Differences were, ofcourse, very highly significant. And these remained so when 231 matched migrants were compared: 34.7% more residents than migrants had left school at 15 and before, only 13% residents compared to 31.6% migrants continued after age 18. So it

Table IV. 2.

EDUCATION

(Percentages)

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL SAMPLE				MATCHED SAMPLE			
	Migr.	Res.	Diff.	χ^2 (1) (2)	Migr.	Res.	Diff.	χ^2 (1) (2)
Terminal Educ. Age.								
- Respondents				+++	(N = 231)			+++ (3)
15 years and before	22.0	57.0	+35.0		26.8	61.5	+34.7	
16-18 years	33.4	31.9	+ 1.5		41.6	25.5	+16.1	
19 years and after	44.6	11.1	+33.5		31.6	13.0	+18.6	
- Fathers				(N = 291M and 292R) +++	(N = 101)			++
15 years and before	62.2	76.7	-14.5		65.4	90.2	-24.8	
16-18 years	20.2	13.8	+ 6.2		18.8	4.9	+13.9	
19 years and after	17.8	9.5	+ 8.3		15.8	4.9	+10.9	
- Children				(N = 85 M and 107R) ++	(N=32)			n.s.
15 years and before	1.2	2.8	-1.6		-	6.3	-6.3	
16-18 years	42.4	59.8	-17.4		46.9	59.4	-12.5	
19 years and after	56.4	37.4	+19.0		53.1	34.3	+18.8	

CERTIFICATES

University degree	20.9	6.4	+14.5	+++	20.1	8.1	+12.0	+++
Dip. Technology/Humanities	2.4	0.8	+ 1.6	n.s.	3.9	1.3	+ 2.6	n.s.
Teacher's Training Cert.	8.5	3.1	+ 5.4	+++	8.6	3.4	+ 5.2	++
Arts/Science	1.4	1.2	+ 0.2	n.s.	1.7	1.3	+ 0.4	n.s.
G.C.E. 'A' level	27.3	1.2	+26.1	+++	13.3	2.1	+11.2	+++
G.C.E. 'O' level	39.1	3.5	+35.6	+++	20.1	5.6	+14.5	+++
General Schools Certificate	19.5	19.5	0	n.s.	27.8	18.4	+ 9.4	++
No certificate at all	19.5	50.6	-31.1	+++	26.6	48.0	-21.4	+++

- (1) All differences refer to migrants e.g. 33.5% more migrants than residents had a terminal education age of 19 or more.
- (2) +++ very high significant difference: ++ highly significant; + significant: n.s. not significant.
- (3) N = 425 migrants and 486 residents in the total sample and 233 each in matched samples unless otherwise stated.

cannot be said that the two groups differ because of the fact that residents were older and had less opportunity to study than persons at school today: the strong difference remains even when persons of similar age are compared.

Consequently, migrants held more and better degrees than did residents. While over half of residents said they held 'no certificate whatever', the proportion among migrants was only a fifth. The proportions may in fact, be even higher since about 30% each of migrants and residents mentioned a certificate not listed on the questionnaire. But the variety of 'other' certificates mentioned, makes it impossible to place any judgement of educational value on these.

Even when respondents were matched the proportion of residents who said they had no certificates still remained significantly higher than the proportion of migrants. There were several respondents who held more than one certificate (for instance, those having University Degrees would also have G.C.E.'s) but totals for each certificate are considered separately.

Over a fifth of migrants compared to 6.4% of residents held University Degrees⁽²⁾. This highly significant difference was found in matched groups as well where 12.0% more migrants than residents had been to University. Many more migrants, both in total and matched samples, had G.C.E. 'A' levels and 'O' levels than residents, differences being very highly significant. In the total sample the proportion of migrants having a Teachers Training Certificate was very much higher than the proportion of residents, but when these were matched, the differences favouring migrants, though significant, were less so. On the other hand, while the proportion having a General Schools Certificate was identical for the two groups in the total sample, after matching, migrants showed a proportion that was just significantly higher. There were no significant differences between prop-

⁽²⁾ This does not take into account 56 migrants and 1 resident who are still studying.

ortions of migrants or residents having Diplomas of Technology/Humanities^{and} of Arts/ Science certificates. There seems to be no doubt that irrespective of the age of the two groups, migrants have a definitely higher educational status than residents.

How does respondents' terminal education age compare to that of their fathers? Among migrants whose fathers had left school at age 15 and before, just over a quarter also finished at age 15 and before but as many as 42.1% continued after age 18. Among residents whose fathers~~were~~ were in this group, almost three-quarters also finished at 15 or before, only 6.7% continued after age 18. Of migrants whose fathers continued studies up to age 18 or after, 8 in 10 had also done so, only 4.3% leaving at 15 or before. Just under two-thirds of residents whose fathers continued studies up to age 18 and after had also done so, while 9.1% left at 15 years or before. Thus it would seem that of all persons originating from a low educational background, migrants stood a better chance of doing higher studies but among those originating from families of high educational background, differences between migrants and residents were less marked.

No matter what the educational qualifications of respondents themselves, both migrants and residents had high aspirations for their children at school. In the relevant cases, only 1.2% of migrants and 2.8% of residents said their children would finish at 15 or before while 56.4% and 37.4%, respectively, hoped their children would continue after age 18. Differences in aspirations for children were just significantly higher among migrants but the significance disappeared when 32 matched migrants and residents were compared.

A high proportion of respondents who had children at school, said these were still at primary school. But of those who had children in secondary schools, a higher proportion of migrants had children in Grammar Schools (57.2% compared to 49.2% residents)

while slightly higher proportions of residents had children in Comprehensives (24.6% compared to 21.5% migrants), Secondary Modern (10.8% compared to 7.1%) and Public schools (15.4% compared to 14.2%).

Migrants tend to originate from significantly higher educational backgrounds, they are likely to continue studies much longer than residents and thus have higher degrees, but as far as aspirations for their children are concerned differences, though still higher for migrants, seem to be less marked than differences found among respondents themselves.

What conclusions can be drawn from the above comparisons? Firstly, migrant populations include proportionally more of the better educated than non-migrant populations, regardless of age, sex, marital and employment status. This could have a profound effect on a given area (e.g. Bristol) if it had a heavy net in-migration: it would mean that the areas educational attainment structure would improve enormously to the detriment of areas having heavy net out-migration. However, as we have pointed out in the previous chapter, the majority of cities like Bristol are not making either appreciable net gains or losses but 'exchanging' similar numbers with the rest of the country. We have also seen that there is little selectivity of migrants between urban areas, that is, persons migrating between urban areas tend to have similar characteristics.

Another finding is that, not only are migrants of higher educational status than residents, but that long-distance migrants tend to have better education than short-distance migrants. The average distance travelled by migrants coming to Bristol from somewhere in England and Wales was 74.5 miles for those having left school at age 15 and before, 82.5 miles for those who left between ages 16 and 18 and 83.6 miles for those continuing studies after age 18, while the longest-distance migrants were those still studying at present: average 111.9 miles. A large proportion of first moves made by migrants were motivated by the desire for higher studies. And in

many cases, once a person has made a first move as a student, he doesn't necessarily go back to his home town, but continues to seek opportunities elsewhere in the country.

There is no doubt that migration and educational attainment are highly related and this is further borne out by social class differences of migrants and residents.

3. Social Class

As an objective measure of social class the present occupation (or last, if retired) of all respondents who had ever worked was used and classified by the Registrar General's five social classes. A second objective measure was used, for male respondents only, classified by eight social classes on the Hall-Jones scale⁽³⁾. Finally, respondents were asked to place themselves in one of a list of classes.

All of these groupings of classes are intended to be in a hierarchical order, the higher prestige classes being at the top of the scale. However, it must be borne in mind that distances between classes on the scale are not measured numerically, that is, a person in class I cannot be said to be twice as high as a person in class II. Significance tests in the total sample thus apply to the distribution and not to 'scores' obtained by each individual. And since tests of differences in distribution cannot be applied in matched samples, the significance tests used here simply refer to whether migrants were more likely to be in a higher class than residents or not.

But irrespective of the test used, the survey confirmed that migrants are definitely of higher social class than residents. In all three gradings migrants were very highly significantly different from residents, both in total and in matched samples (see table IV.3.).

While over 6 in 10 migrants were in the two higher non-manual occupational groups, almost the same proportion of residents had jobs in the bottom three gradings of the Registrar General's scale. However, as we pointed out earlier, the area in which the survey was carried

(3) Hall, J. and Jones, D.C. "The social grading of occupations", British Journal of Sociology, Vol.1, No.1, March 1950.

Table IV. 3.

SOCIAL CLASS

(Percentages)

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL SAMPLE			MATCHED SAMPLE		
	Migr.	Res.	Diff.	Migr.	Res.	Diff.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
REGISTRAR GENERAL	(N=359M and 448R)+++			(N=219)+++ (3)		
I Professional	23.9	9.8	+14.1	24.2	12.8	+11.4
II Intermediate	41.2	30.8	+10.4	45.2	25.1	+20.1
III Skilled	27.8	43.7	-15.9	24.2	42.5	-18.3
IV Semi-skilled	3.4	10.7	- 6.8	4.1	13.2	- 9.1
V Unskilled	3.2	5.0	-1.8	2.3	6.4	- 4.1
HALL - JONES	(N = 301M and 358R)+++			(N = 202)+++		
1. Professional - High Admin. (Males only)	26.3	12.0	+14.3	25.3	13.8	+11.5
2. Managerial - Executive	20.6	13.2	+ 7.4	24.7	9.4	+15.3
3. Inspectional - Higher	17.9	23.3	- 5.4	19.3	20.9	- 1.6
4. Inspectional Lower	10.6	9.0	+ 1.6	12.4	9.4	+ 3.0
5. Routine non-manual	6.3	6.7	- 0.4	4.4	4.9	- 0.5
6. Skilled Manual	12.3	24.6	-12.3	8.4	28.3	-19.9
7. Semi - Skilled	3.3	6.7	- 3.4	4.0	8.4	- 4.4
8. Unskilled	2.7	4.5	- 1.8	1.5	4.9	- 3.4
SUBJECTIVE CLASS	(N = 380M and 439 R)+++			(N = 195)+++		
Upper	0.2	-	+0.2	-	-	-
Professional	47.1	21.3	+25.8	45.3	24.6	+20.7
Upper Middle	17.5	23.7	- 6.2	18.9	17.6	+ 1.3
Lower Middle	17.0	18.8	- 1.8	14.3	18.9	- 4.6
Working	18.0	34.6	-16.6	21.0	38.4	-18.4
Poor	0.2	1.6	- 1.4	0.5	0.5	-

1) All differences refer to migrants e.g. there are 14.1% more migrants than residents in Registrar General's class I jobs in the total sample.

2) +++ very highly significant difference.

out was a fairly high status one, only 3.2% of migrants and 5.0% of residents being in unskilled jobs. Differences were even more marked when pairs of matched migrants and residents were compared, for the respective proportions in classes I and II became 69.4% of migrants and 37.9% of residents. In fact, among matched pairs, only 27.8% were in the same class, while 53.9% migrants were in a higher class than residents and only 18.3% in a lower class.

Similar striking differences were found when males only were compared on the Hall-Jones scale. The respective proportions of migrants and residents in career jobs (classes 1,2,3) were 64.8% and 48.5%, in lower non-manual jobs (4,5) 16.9% and 15.7% and in manual jobs (6,7,8) 18.3% and 35.8%. Again the effect of comparing migrants of similar characteristics was to increase differences in favour of migrants. Almost 6 in 10 male migrants had higher status jobs, a quarter had lower status jobs while the remaining 15.8% were in same status jobs as matched residents.

And respondents seemed to be aware of these differences, for when asked to state to which class they believed they belonged to themselves, the majority of migrants opted for 'Professional' while a majority of residents said 'Working class'. Just over half of matched migrants placed themselves in a higher class than residents, a quarter gave an identical class and 23.6% a lower class than residents. Around 10% each of migrants and residents said they didn't know to which social class they belonged.

It is not surprising to find that migrants are of higher social class than residents: social class is undoubtedly related to educational status. When comparing terminal education age with respondents' subjective class ratings, it was seen that both among migrants and residents a majority who had left school at age 15 and before, put themselves in the working class, while a majority of those leaving after age 18, had put themselves in the Professional class. However, of all those with a terminal education age of 15 years and less, 10.3% more residents than migrants said they were working class

while at the other end, among all leaving after age 18, 12.2% more residents than migrants considered themselves to be in the professional class.

Table IV.3a.

<u>Terminal Education Age and Subjective Social Class</u>							
	M I G R A N T S				R E S I D E N T S		
	T.E.A.				T.E.A.		
	<u>-16</u>	<u>16-18</u>	<u>+18</u>		<u>-16</u>	<u>16-18</u>	<u>+18</u>
Working Class %	43.4	18.8	5.6		53.7	13.4	9.8
Lower Middle %	25.4	12.8	14.8		23.7	14.9	5.9
Upper Middle %	15.6	21.0	13.4		17.8	41.0	5.9
Professional %	15.6	47.4	66.2		4.8	30.7	78.4
--Sub-total %	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%
	(83)	(133)	(142)		(253)	(134)	(51)
Don't knows %	10.7	6.3	13.4		8.0	13.0	5.5
*TOTAL	93	142	164		275	154	54

* 26 migrants and 3 residents were either still studying or didn't know terminal education age.

Besides the fact that migrants are in higher status classes than residents, we have also pointed out that higher status migrants move longer distances, for they are more aware, than lower status persons, of far-distant opportunities and moving is made easier by several types of benefits and allowances. In modern industrial societies it has become almost imperative to move geographically if one is to move socially. According to W.H. Whyte⁽⁴⁾ 'Almost by definition, the organization man is a man who left home and ...kept on going'. However, the relationship between geographical and social mobility will be studied in detail in chapter VI.

4. Economic Differences

At the time of the survey 8 in 10 migrants and three-quarters of residents were in employment. Among 87 migrants not in employment,

(4) Whyte, W.H. The organization man, Jonathan Cape, London, pp.429

two thirds were students, a fifth were retired, a tenth housewives and 4.8% other. The majority of the 157 residents not in employment were retired (72.5%), a fifth housewives and 5.8% other.

While almost a tenth of migrants who normally work had been unemployed at some time in the twelve months preceding the interview only 2.7% of residents had been unemployed. Average unemployment in both groups lasted about 9 weeks.

The types of jobs engaged in by respondents (both those working at present and the retired) were classified by the Registrar General's 27 Occupational grouping for 362 migrants and 443 residents in the total sample and for 221 matched pairs. A significance test was applied to the distribution in the total sample and showed that differences between the two groups were very highly significant, but since the distribution in categories of occupations is not in a hierarchical order, no significance test could be made for matched groups.

From the resulting distributions of occupational groups both in total and matched samples the following conclusions can be drawn:

- 1) Migrants and residents in this particular survey area tended to be doing similar types of job: the 27 groupings could be collapsed into 8 definite categories, the 'other' categories, being composed of groupings where neither migrants nor residents were represented by more than 3.5%;
- 2) Migrants' occupations were much more concentrated than those of residents: one group (Professional etc.) accounts for more than a third while the highest proportion of residents in a single group is 15.6% (Clerical). While 13.3% of migrants' occupations were scattered among the 19 groupings in the 'other' category, close on a quarter of residents' occupations had to be classified in this category;
- 3) In the total sample, the largest differences in proportions were found among Professional etc. jobs: 21.0% more migrants than residents, while the smallest difference (0.2%) was among Engineers, where about a tenth of each group was employed;
- 4) When matched groups

Table IV. 4.

ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

(Percentages)

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL SAMPLE			MATCHED SAMPLE		
	Migr. Res. Diff.	X ²		Migr. Res. Diff.	X ²	
	(1)	(2)		(1)	(2)	
Type of Employment	(N=362M and 443R) +++			(N=221)		
a) Professional, Techn. Art.	35.4	14.4	+21.0	32.1	13.6	+18.5
b) Clerical	11.3	15.6	- 4.3	11.3	12.2	- 0.9
c) Engineering and Allied	10.0	10.2	-00.2	9.0	11.3	- 2.3
d) Sales	6.1	9.9	3.8	7.7	9.5	- 1.8
e) Admins. and Managers	7.5	9.0	- 1.5	10.0	6.8	+ 3.2
f) Service, Sport, Recn.	8.9	6.8	+2.1	6.8	7.2	- 0.4
g) Food, drink, tobacco.	3.3	5.2	- 1.9	3.2	5.4	- 2.2
h) Transport and Communicat.	4.2	5.2	-1.0	4.1	7.2	- 3.1
i) Other	13.3	23.7	-10.4	15.8	26.8	-11.0
PAYMENT	(N= 329 and 335R) +++			(N= 174)		
Weekly paid	41.8	59.7	-17.9	37.3	58.5	-21.2
Monthly paid	58.2	40.3	+17.9	62.7	41.5	+21.2
EARNINGS						
- Weekly paid	(N = 137 M and 200R) +			(N=37)		
Average £.s.	18.4	16.7	1.17.0	20.6.0	17.12.0	+2.14.0 n.s.
- Monthly paid	(N= 192 M and 135R) n.s.			(N = 44)		
Average £.s.	120.11.	126.18.0	-6.7.0	146.4.0	133.18.0	+12.6.0 n.s.
- Yearly income	(N= 329M and 335R)			(N = 81)		
Average £	1,238	1,121	+117 n.s.	1,434	1,290	+144 +

- (1) All differences refer to migrants e.g. 17.9% less migrants than residents in the total sample are weekly paid.
- (2) +++ very highly significant difference; ++ highly significant difference; + significant difference; n.s. not significant.

were compared, there were still 18.5% more migrants than residents in Professional type occupations, but the smallest difference (0.4%) was found among Service, Sport and Recreation workers, both groups being represented by about 7%.

Among all working at the time of the survey, 4.1% migrants and 7.8% residents refused to state their earnings. Of the remaining migrants and residents in the total sample and 174 matched pairs, very highly significant differences were found between migrants and residents paid weekly or monthly. In the total sample, 17.9% more migrants were monthly earners and this difference increased to 21.2% in the matched groups.

When comparing average earnings, however, weekly paid migrants in the total sample earned an average income that was just significantly higher than that of residents. Monthly paid residents earned more on average than did migrants, presumably because the former are older, but the difference was not significant. When comparing matched groups, both weekly and monthly paid migrants earned more on average, but differences were not significant. Unfortunately, numbers which could be compared were greatly reduced (N=37 for weekly and 44 for monthly) because so many monthly paid migrants were matched with weekly paid residents and vice versa, on the basic matching characteristics.

From a comparison of earnings the following conclusions were drawn: 1) Average earnings both for migrants and residents were very high, especially among monthly paid. Respondents were shown a table where weekly earnings were grouped in 7 intervals of £5 the last being 'over £30' and monthly earnings in intervals of £30 the last being 'over £180'. The earnings of the head of household after deductions, but including overtime and bonuses was asked for. Among monthly migrant earners, 18.2% earned 'over £180' per month, while there were 20.7% of monthly resident earners in this category;

2) It was surprising, considering the higher educational background of migrants and the higher social status attached to their jobs, that they did not earn significantly more than residents (even when the two groups were matched). Part of the explanation for this must lie in the fact that persons in the lower status jobs probably have to work harder: more hours, overtime etc., which increases their net earnings while those in higher status jobs have a fixed scale. On the other hand, higher status persons are more likely to have income from other sources (dividends etc.) and also to benefit from more 'fringe' benefits like superannuation, moving expenses and the like.

But in the present study further explanations were sought. How did age affect earnings? Since more migrants than residents were monthly paid, did they in fact, earn more per year?

Average earnings for migrants and residents by age-groups were as follows:

Age-group	Migrants	Residents	Diff.for Migrants
21-30	£17/ 1/-	£17/14/-	- 13/-
31-40	£20/15/-	£18/19/-	+£1/16/-
41-50	£21/--/-	£18/ 2/-	+£2/18/-
51+	£15/ 1/-	£13/15/-	+£1/ 6/-

Among all weekly earners, average earnings increased with age to a peak and then dropped for the highest age group, to an average (both among migrants and residents) which is the lowest for all age groups. While residents in the lowest age group earn slightly more than migrants, in all other age groups they earn less. But while residents reach their highest average between ages 31-40, migrants only reach theirs between age 41-50: thus while migrants are continuing to go up slightly in this age group, residents have already begun a downward trend and this results in the largest difference in average earnings to be in this 41-50 years age group.

But even more striking differences are found among monthly earners. Monthly average earnings for migrants and residents by age groups were as follows:

Age group	Migrants	Residents	Diff. for Migrants
21-30	£83/ 5/-	£127/ 9/-	-£44/ 4/-
31-40	£130/ 6/-	£138/ 4/-	- £7/18/-
41-50	£140/12/-	£119/ 7/-	+£21/ 5/-
51+	£149/13/-	£127/ 9/-	+£22/ 4/-

Higher earnings by residents in the lower age groups probably explains why some persons do not move. The first age-group of residents earns considerably more than migrants of the same age (though this represents only 7 residents compared to 62 migrants) and even in the next age group (27R and 58M) average monthly earnings are still slightly higher for residents. A few residents then, seem to be able to enter highly paid jobs immediately and therefore, there is no incentive to migrate, in order to better their position. But this comparison by age brings to light another important aspect. While residents in the lower ages earn more than migrants, the salaries of residents beyond 40 years of age drop to an average which is lower than that of younger residents. On the contrary, while the migrant starts (in the younger ages) with a lower salary, the average increases constantly with age, so that in the last two age groups, migrants have a distinct advantage over residents. In other words, while the average earnings of migrants in the top age group is 1.8 times higher than that of the lowest age group, that of residents in the top and bottom age groups is identical. If the picture obtained here is representative of similar situations in different places and over a long period of time, one may conclude that while actual average earnings of migrants and residents are very similar, the migrant is more likely to reap the economic benefits of his efforts (in education, migration etc.) towards the end of his career.

An attempt was made to see if overall (weekly and monthly) earnings differed significantly in the two groups. A rather crude method had to be used. Mid-points of weekly earnings were multiplied by 52 and mid-points of monthly earnings by 12 in order to obtain an

approximate yearly figure. On this basis average yearly earnings for migrants became £1,238/ 7/- and for residents £1,121/ 4/- or a difference of £117/3/- in favour of migrants. But tests proved that the difference was not significant.

However, when combining the matched weekly and monthly earners it was seen that migrants earned an average of £144/4/- more than residents per year and that difference was just significant.

From the above one may conclude, that because of the older average age of residents they are likely to earn a yearly average income which is similar to that of migrants, but controlling for age, the yearly average earnings of a migrant would be just significantly higher than that of a resident. However, differences in earnings are certainly not as marked as differences in terminal education age and social class, which seems to confirm the hypothesis that these present non-economic advantages of the migrant over the resident is a form of investment which will reap economic benefits later in the career of the migrant.

5. Housing and Amenities

Because of significant differences in age and marital status of migrants and residents there were strong differences in the type and ownership of houses lived in by the two groups. However, the moment the two matched groups were compared, differences disappeared altogether.

While over 7 in 10 residents in the total sample were living in whole houses, only 4 in 10 migrants were. Migrants were much more likely to be living in independent or shared flats. This, of course, reflects the younger age-structure and the fact that there were many students, sharing flats, among migrants. Differences between migrants and residents living in whole houses were very highly significant, but when matched pairs were compared only 7.3% more residents were living in whole houses and the difference was no longer significant.

Similarly, in the total sample, 26.4% more residents than migrants

Table IV 5.

HOUSING AND AMENITIES

(Percentages)

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL SAMPLE				MATCHED SAMPLE			
	Migr. Res.		Diff. χ^2		Migr. Res.		Diff. χ^2	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
TYPE OF HOUSE								
Whole house	41.8	71.9	-30.1	+++	62.7	70.0	-7.3	n.s.
Independent flat	37.5	23.2	+14.3		32.7	25.8	+6.9	
Shared flat	14.3	1.8	+12.5		1.2	2.1	-0.9	
Other	6.4	3.1	+ 3.3		3.4	2.1	+1.3	
HOME OWNERSHIP								
Own	40.7	67.1	-26.4	+++	61.5	61.5	0	n.s.
Rent	56.0	19.2	+36.8		34.3	21.7	+12.6	
Council	1.4	11.9	-10.5		1.2	15.1	-13.9	
Other	1.9	1.8	+ 0.1		3.0	1.7	+ 1.3	
ROOMS								
Average per household	4.6	5.8	- 1.2	+++	4.6	5.7	- 1.1	n.s.
	(N = 1215 M and 1416R)				(N = 765M and 783R)			(3)
Persons per room (av)	0.67	0.52	+0.15	+++	0.61	0.61	0	n.s.
RENTS AND MORTGAGES								
Rent per week	(N = 229M and 139R)		++		(N = 35)		+++	
Average £.s.d.	4.7.10	2.18.0	+1.9.10	+++	4.8.0	2.14.0	+1.14.0	+++
Mortgage per month	(N=109M and 93R)		+		(N = 34)		+	
Average £.s.d.	20.2.4	13.19.0	+6.3. 4	+	19.2.0	15.0.0	+4.2.0	+
AMENITIES								
Cold Water	100.0	100.0	0	n.s.	100.0	100.0	0	n.s.
Hot Water	96.0	91.5	+4.5	++	97.8	93.5	+4.3	+
Bath	98.5	94.0	+4.5	+++	99.1	95.6	+3.5	+
Radio	94.0	98.0	-4.0	n.s.	92.1	98.6	-6.5	n.s.
Television	69.0	89.2	-20.2	+++	84.5	90.9	-6.4	+
Washing Machine	44.6	59.5	-14.9	+++	59.2	68.6	-9.4	+
Refrigerator	58.9	67.5	- 8.6	++	75.0	67.0	+8.0	+
Motor Car	64.0	54.5	+ 9.5	+	73.7	63.0	+10.7	+++

(1) All differences refere to migrants e.g. 30.1% fewer migrants than residents in th total sample were living in Whole houses.

(2) +++Very high significant difference; ++ highly significant; +significant; n.s. not significant

(3) N = 425 migrants and 486 residents in the total sample and 233 each in the matched samples, unless otherwise stated.

owned their dwellings, the difference being very highly significant. But the moment the two groups were matched, the difference disappeared completely, exactly 61.5% of each owning their dwellings. However, a strong difference remained among the matched groups not owning their dwellings: a third of matched migrants rented, only 1.2% living in Council Houses, while these proportions among matched residents were, respectively, 21.7% and 15.1%.

When comparing the number of rooms per household or persons per room in the total sample, residents tended to have a distinct advantage over migrants. They had 1.2 more rooms per household and 0.15 less persons per room, differences being highly and very highly significant. Again these differences reflect the larger proportion of younger and single persons among migrants, for when the 233 matched households were compared, though there were still more rooms on average in resident households, the difference was no longer significant and the number of persons per room in migrant and resident households was identical: 0.61.

Among all renting, migrants paid a significantly higher average rental per week than residents. The difference of £1/9/10 in the total sample was highly significant, while the difference of £1/14/- among matched renters was very highly significant. But migrants were more likely to rent furnished or partly furnished accommodation and their rents included electricity more often than those of residents.

Two-thirds of migrants and 30.0% of residents owning their homes had mortgage repayments and both in total and matched samples the average monthly mortgage paid by migrants was just significantly higher than that paid by residents.

When respondents didn't own their homes, residents were much more likely than migrants to apply for Council houses but a larger proportion of migrants manifested an interest in other types of housing societies (at cost rent or co-ownership) by saying that they would consider these if they had to move again.

While there were striking differences in ownership of different amenities in the total sample, all but one of these differences became less significant when comparing matched migrants and residents. First of all there were no significant differences either in total or matched samples between those having use of cold water or radio. In the total sample, more migrants had use of hot water, bath and motor car, while more residents had television, washing machine and refrigerator. However, when matched groups were compared, all differences except one, became just significant. But while 8.6% less migrants in the total sample had a refrigerator, 8.0% more in the matched group, owned one. The one item which showed a significantly higher difference favouring migrants, was the motor car which was owned by 10.7% more than residents.

Though the motor car may not serve directly in the migratory move,, it does allow a greater possibility to "keep in touch" with friends and relatives in places migrants had lived in before. When asked if they visited relatives living outside of Bristol, over three-quarters of migrants compared to only half of residents said they did. But other than the motor car, when migrants and residents of similar characteristics are compared, use of amenities are only just significant for the two groups: migrants are more likely to have hot water, baths, refrigerators, while residents are more likely to have television and washing machines.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that migrants differ considerably from residents. Though the age differential is the only one to be found consistently in several countries and at different times, this survey has shown that migrants in a modern industrial setting differ in several respects from their fellow residents, even when they are of similar age, sex, marital and employment status.

Principal differences are found firstly, in educational status and background: migrants come from a higher educational background

and are much more likely than residents to do higher studies themselves. However, aspirations for those who have children at school are equally high among both groups. Secondly, migrants are of much higher social class, in general, than residents: they are more likely to have higher status jobs and are also subjectively aware of their higher status. Thirdly, Migrants tend to be more concentrated in a few types of job and are much more likely than residents to be monthly paid. But, surprisingly, their average earnings are not very significantly higher than those of residents. There is, however, some evidence that migrants in the higher age-groups are better off economically than residents in these groups. Finally, migration has little effect on housing or amenities when groups of migrants and residents of similar age etc. are compared, though migrants do tend to pay higher rents and slightly higher mortgages.

Since differences in characteristics of migrants and residents are so large, it may appear surprising that they are living in the same areas of the city. An attempt was made to see if, within the survey area, there was any evidence of residential segregation. A social status index for enumeration districts of the survey area was made, based on 1961 census data. With a status index of 100 as average, the 38 enumeration districts of the survey area were divided into 3 groups: -100; 101-300 and 301+.

Using survey data and applying appropriate sampling fractions, it was found that in the lowest status area, residents outnumbered migrants by about 8 to 1, in the medium status area and in the high status area by only 3 to 1. Thus, in low status areas, fewer migrants are living among residents, while migrants make up approximately a quarter of persons living in above status areas. This does tend to suggest that even within the survey area there is a certain amount of residential segregation between migrants and residents, based mainly on social class differences.

These differences between migrants and residents could affect

the way newcomers are received in the city, and this, in turn may affect the attitudes of newcomers towards the city. This is the subject of the next chapter.

APPENDIX

Examples of significance tests for matched samples.

1. Possession of a motor car

This is a 2 x 2 table where the reply is either 'yes' or 'no'.

		<u>Migrants</u>		
		Yes	No	Tot.
<u>Residents</u>	Yes	118	28	146
	No	54	33	87
	Tot.	172	61	233

In the example given, 172 migrants own a car. Of these, 118 are matched with a resident who owns a car, while 54 are matched with a resident who does not own one. Similarly, the 61 migrants are matched with residents who own or who do not own.

Mc Nemar's test is applied, using figures where matched pairs differ on the item in question.

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(54-28)^2}{54+28} = 8.24$$

In referring to tables for matched samples it will be seen that this figure is highly significant.

2. Rent paid per week

Among 35 matched pairs compared, the mid-point (in £'s) of rent paid by each migrant is compared to that of rent paid by his matched partner.

diff. in £'s paid by migrants	number	Here a t-test for differences is used. While 7 migrants paid the same rent as their matched partners, 10 paid £1 more, 12 paid £2 more etc. (in this case no migrant paid less than his matched resident partner). The mean difference was found to be 1.686 and the standard error of the difference 0.242. If this mean difference is significantly different from zero it is considered to be significant. This is obtained by dividing the mean by the standard error.
0	7	
+1	10	
+2	12	
+3	2	
+4	2	
+5	1	
+6	1	

The result in this case was 6.97, which is very highly significant.

Chapter V

ATTITUDES OF MIGRANTS TO BRISTOL

INTRODUCTION

The object of this chapter is to look into the degree of satisfaction attained by migrants in their move to Bristol. The motivation behind the move and choice of destination were undoubtedly prompted, except in a few cases, by the hope of some advantage: economic, better climate, proximity to relatives and friends etc. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction, however, is considered in relative rather than absolute terms: relative to the place from which migrants came.

Attitudes to Bristol then, depend to a large measure on previous residence of migrants. But other factors which could influence satisfaction include: reasons for migrating, general and economic advantages and disadvantages and social integration in the new community. The first part of this chapter is devoted to a study of these factors.

But general satisfaction could be influenced by the importance which individuals attach to their various roles. In particular, how does the saliency of the work role influence satisfaction in general, behaviour in the non-work situation and future migration intentions? Since work has become such an important aspect of one's life and since a large number of moves are motivated by work reasons, attitude to work could influence the non-work situation to a large extent. A study of the saliency of the work role and its effects, is made in the second part of this chapter.

Part 1. Satisfaction with Bristol

For a large majority of migrants the move to Bristol was definitely beneficial, the largest proportion of respondents being those who said Bristol was much better than the place they were living in

before and a very small proportion saying it was much worse. Judging

Table V.1.

BRISTOL COMPARED TO PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Opinion</u>	<u>%</u>
Much better	42.7	All better	68.1
A little better	25.4		
The same	20.3	Same	20.3
A little worse	9.5		
Much worse	<u>2.1</u>	All worse	<u>11.6</u>
	100.0		100.0
N =	422		422 (1)

by the replies, one may conclude that almost 7 in 10 migrants gained some advantage from the move. The following is an attempt to discover how satisfaction or dissatisfaction was related to other factors.

Throughout, respondents are considered in three groups i) those who found Bristol at all better ii) those who felt it was the same and iii) those who found it at all worse.

1. Conditions of Arrival

a) Reasons for coming

Just over half of respondents came to Bristol for work reasons, which included those appointed to work, those coming because of a lack of work in their former place and those coming in search of a better job. Surprisingly, almost half of respondents gave 'non-work' reasons for migrating even though a number of these were working. This aspect will be studied in Part 2. Reasons for coming to Bristol were grouped into four classes: i) family reasons ii) reasons concerning advantages of Bristol iii) work reasons and iv) other reasons. Satisfaction was equally high among those who came for work reasons and those coming for advantages which Bristol offered, 69.7% of each group saying Bristol was better. Among those coming for family reasons, this proportion was slightly

(1) There was no information on this question from 3 respondents, so the total is 422.

lower. It is evident that the move made by this group was not motivated by advantages Bristol could offer, but by personal reasons. These personal reasons are probably the same ones which would attract migrants to other places, while the first mentioned

Table V.2.

REASONS FOR COMING TO BRISTOL BY SATISFACTION

Reasons	Better		Same		Worse		Total %	
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
<u>A. Family</u>	41	62.2	17	25.7	8	12.1	66	100.0
To marry	6		4		3		(15.6%)	
Family events	5		5		2			
Rejoin family/friends	27		8		2			
Closer to home	3		-		1			
<u>B. Advantages of Bristol</u>	83	69.7	23	19.3	13	11.0	119	100.0
Better schools	3		2		-		(28.3%)	
Love of change	10		1		2			
Better climate	12		2		1			
Better housing	2		2		2			
To study	53		15		8			
To retire	3		1		-			
<u>C. Work</u>	154	69.7	41	18.5	26	11.8	221	100.0
Appointed to work	116		27		20		(52.3%)	
Lack of work in las place	10		-		3			
Possibility of better job	28		14		3			
<u>D. Other</u>	9	56.2	5	31.3	2	12.5	16	100.0
							(3.8%)	
TOTAL	287	68.1	86	20.3	49	11.6	422	100.0
							(100.0%)	

ones tend to indicate that Bristol was selected from among other possibilities.

Another aspect of motives for coming is ofcourse, whether respondents felt they were forced or not to move from their previous place. Those who felt they were not forced were only slightly better off than those who felt they were forced to move. There was certainly no significant difference in attitudes. And this was reflected when considering other aspects of satisfaction. The 'forced' tended to be as satisfied as the rest as far as their Bristol job was concerned and they didn't appear to be worse off as far as housing in Bristol is concerned. However, among married respondents it appeared that

that a fairly higher proportion of wives of 'forced' movers were unsatisfied with the move to Bristol, than wives of the rest. On

Table V.3.

FORCED MOVES AND SATISFACTION									
<u>General Satisfaction</u>					<u>Job Satisfaction</u>				
		Better	Same	Worse	N	Better	Same	Worse	N
Forced	%	65.8	19.8	14.4	141	53.2	39.2	7.6	107
Not forced	%	69.0	20.6	10.4	281	56.6	38.2	5.2	214
<u>Housing Satisfaction</u>					<u>Wives' Opinion</u>				
		Better	Same	Worse	N	Satisf.	Unsatisf.		N
Forced	%	29.1	44.7	26.2	141	73.2	26.8		71
Not forced	%	32.3	41.3	26.4	281	89.0	11.0		143

the whole, however, those forced to move to Bristol did not tend to fare any worse than others.

b) Previous residence

Satisfaction was lowest amongst those coming to Bristol directly from abroad and this was followed by those whose last residence was London. While the former undoubtedly feel the strain not only of living in a new city but in a new country as well, former Londoners would probably feel the same about any provincial town. However, even among these, over half felt they were better off in Bristol.

The highest degree of satisfaction was expressed by those coming from centres similar in size to Bristol and by those coming from very small centres, about three quarters of both groups saying they were better off. This proportion was slightly less for those coming from towns smaller than Bristol. A possible explanation for this could be that those coming from very small centres are compensated in several ways by the many advantages of the large metropolis, those coming from towns similar in size to Bristol have some idea of what to expect in another large city and are thus gratified by other advantages like climate, geographical situation and the like, while

those coming from the smaller provincial towns expect too much and are

Table V.4.

SIZE OF LAST RESIDENCE AND SATISFACTION				
<u>Last Residence</u>	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total
London	60.8	23.2	16.0	100.0 (56)
+100,000 pop.	74.7	15.8	9.5	100.0 (95)
25-99,999	70.0	21.8	8.2	100.0 (110)
-25,000	75.0	14.6	10.4	100.0 (96)
Abroad	50.8	30.8	18.5	100.0 (65)

more likely to be disillusioned when expectations are not fulfilled.

Of course, respondents could still have many attachments elsewhere, so a question was asked to see if they felt more 'at home' elsewhere than in Bristol. Exactly half of respondents did think of a place other than Bristol as home, and this tended to influence satisfaction. While over three quarters who did not feel at home elsewhere said Bristol was better, the proportion was only 6 in 10 of those who looked on another place as home. And a much higher proportion of these said Bristol was worse than the place they were living in before. An attempt was made to see if this lack of satisfaction was due to being socially isolated in Bristol. But this did

Table V.5.

ATTACHMENT AND SATISFACTION								
	Better %			Same %			Worse %	
'At home' elsewhere	60.8			20.3			18.9	
Not 'At h.' elsewhere	75.2			20.5			4.3	
	<u>Making Friends</u>			<u>Get togethers</u>			<u>Average</u>	
	Eas.	Same	Dif.	Reg.	Occ.	Nev.	Visitors	Visits
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
'At h.' elsewh.	30.6	36.8	32.5	33.0	52.4	14.6	4.24	1.92
Not 'At h.' elsew.	30.0	41.9	28.1	24.8	58.6	16.6	4.41	1.68

not seem to be the case since the two groups were similar in their

opinions on whether it was easier to make friends in Bristol than elsewhere, they had had on average, a similar number of visitors to their homes in the week previous to interview and had made similar average numbers of visits themselves. Those feeling at home elsewhere even tended to have slightly more get-togethers with their friends than did the rest. Attachment to other places did not thus tend to be a criticism of Bristol but was related more to familiarity with those other places and pleasant personal experiences: 59.9% saying they were attached because other members of the family were there and 25.5% because they were brought up or lived the longest period of their lives there.

There did appear to be some relation between satisfaction and previous knowledge of Bristol. Among those who said they knew Bristol very well before coming, three quarters found it a better place while only 3.4% said it was worse. Among those knowing Bristol only

Table V.6.

	PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF BRISTOL AND SATISFACTION			
	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total %
<u>Knew Bristol</u>				
Very well	74.2	22.4	3.4	100.0 (58)
Fairly well	67.7	16.7	15.6	100.0 (96)
Not at all	66.8	21.2	12.0	100.0 (268)

fairly well or not at all, about two-thirds were better off while over a tenth of each group, thought Bristol was worse. Presumably, those knowing Bristol very well before coming, also knew what to expect and would not have come had they expected to suffer some disadvantage.

2. Settling in Bristol

a) General Advantages and Disadvantages

Respondents were asked to state what were the advantages, if any, and disadvantages of Bristol compared to their previous place. Only 5.7% said Bristol held no advantage, while over a third (34.6%) said it held no disadvantage. But, while 2 of the 25 persons who could not give an advantage said they were better off in Bristol, none of the 146 persons who said Bristol held no disadvantage were worse off.

Table V.7.

ADVANTAGES, DISADVANTAGES OF BRISTOL AND SATISFACTION					
	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
Mentioned Advantage	71.8	18.2	10.0	397	(94.3%)
'No Advantage'	8.0	56.0	36.0	25	(5.7%)
Mentioned Disadvantage	59.8	22.5	17.7	276	(65.4%)
'No Disadvantage'	83.6	16.4	----	146	(34.6%)

In fact, satisfaction was very high among those who couldn't mention a disadvantage, over 8 in 10 saying they were better off in Bristol.

The most frequently mentioned advantages were that Bristol was an interesting city and had better facilities, like shops and schools, each mentioned by about 3 in 10. Work opportunities were also mentioned by over a tenth. The most frequently mentioned disadvantage, however, was 'lack of facilities!'. This same reason featured highly among advantages. This apparent contradiction must be due to the varied previous residences of respondents: those coming from London and abroad were least satisfied and many among these considered Bristol's facilities inferior. But isolating this question on facilities: 27.2% of all respondents said facilities were better and only 14.8% said they were worse. Higher cost of living was considered the next most important disadvantage and this was followed by the difficulty of making friends in Bristol. The ease with which

one can make new friends seems to be very important to the migrant.

Exactly the same proportion of respondents thought it easier to make friends in Bristol as those who found it more difficult, While the rest said it was the same as elsewhere. Among those who found it

Table V.8.

MAKING FRIENDS, HOUSING AND SATISFACTION					
	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
<u>Making Friends</u>					
Easier	82.1	11.7	6.2	128	(30.3%)
Same	65.0	26.5	8.5	166	(39.4%)
Difficult	57.8	21.1	21.1	128	(30.3%)
<u>Housing</u>					
Better	71.2	19.5	9.3	178	(42.3%)
Same	63.4	25.4	11.2	134	(31.6%)
Worse	68.1	16.4	15.5	110	(26.1%)

easier, over 8 in 10 felt that they were better off in Bristol, very few saying they were worse off. Among those who felt it more difficult to make friends, only 57.8% considered Bristol to be better while over a fifth considered it to be worse. It seems that social contacts, or the lack of them in new surroundings, has an important effect on one's satisfaction even if one gains several other advantages like better climate, an interesting city and better facilities. It would appear that this aspect is more important than advantages like housing. Of those who thought their housing was better, just over 7 in 10 said they were better off in Bristol, but this proportion was very similar to the proportion of those who said their housing was worse.

b) Economic Advantages and Disadvantages

Of all respondents who could compare their Bristol jobs to those held in a former place, only 7.5% considered the Bristol job worse. It

would appear that moving into a better job in Bristol, was one of the main reasons for the move. And job satisfaction tended to con-

Table V.9.

JOB SATISFACTION AND GENERAL SATISFACTION

<u>Job is.....</u>	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
Better	76.3	14.1	9.6	177	(69.1%)
Same	58.4	28.3	13.3	60	(23.4%)
Worse	42.1	26.3	31.6	19	(7.5%)

dition general satisfaction for over three quarters who had a better job felt that Bristol was better too. This is not surprising since work is an important aspect of life in general and has an important influence in the non-work situation as well, as will be seen in Part 2. of this chapter.

While only 16.4% said their Bristol job held no advantage over the job in their previous place, as many as 60.4% said it held no disadvantage. Of all mentioning some advantage over 7 in 10 consid-

Table V.10.

ADVANTAGES, DISADVANTAGES OF BRISTOL JOB AND SATISFACTION

	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
Mentioned Advantage	71.4	16.3	12.3	214	(83.6%)
'No Advantage'	59.5	28.6	11.9	42	(16.4%)
Mentioned Disadvantage	62.4	21.8	15.8	101	(39.6%)
'No Disadvantage'	74.2	16.1	9.7	155	(60.4%)

ered Bristol better while under 6 in 10 of those who couldn't mention a job advantage, thought Bristol better. The most frequently mentioned advantage was 'higher salary'(43.0%). However, more intrinsic advantages like better workmates, better working conditions, more interesting work and more initiative were mentioned by a slightly higher

proportion (46.8%) than those who mentioned higher pay. Most persons when deciding to change jobs expect to earn more, but non-monetary factors play an important part too. This is clearly borne out when considering job disadvantages. Of 22 persons earning less in Bristol, only 2 considered Bristol worse than the place they were living in before. Although lower pay was a frequently mentioned disadvantage (21.8%) many more complained about worse working conditions (30.7%). In fact, those mentioning intrinsic disadvantages of the job accounted for 46.6% of all disadvantages.

Both from a study of advantages and disadvantages it can be seen that the purely economic motive is not necessarily the principle one taken into account when changes in job (and residence) are made. However, economic advantages or disadvantages are much easier to define than non-economic ones: it is easier to say whether one has experienced a change in standard of living than to measure the degree of satisfaction attained from non-economic changes. Often changes in the economic sphere influences one's general attitude: we have already seen that there is a strong relationship between job satisfaction and general satisfaction. In order to gain some idea of economic changes experienced in the move to Bristol, respondents were asked whether their earnings changed, what they thought of prices of certain goods and services in Bristol compared to those in their previous place and whether in their opinion their standard of living had changed. (In all cases, not applicables, including those not working and those who couldn't compare prices, were excluded.)

Among all respondents who replied to the question on earnings just under 6 in 10 said they earned more on coming to Bristol, but over a fifth earned less. One would expect those who earned less to be least satisfied with Bristol in general, which seems to be the case here. But what is surprising is that those who earned the same as in their previous place tended to be more satisfied and less

dissatisfied with Bristol in general, than those who earned more. It would appear that a fairly high proportion who moved to a job with

Table V.11.

EARNINGS, STANDARD OF LIVING AND SATISFACTION					
	Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
<u>Earnings</u>					
More	70.5	16.7	12.8	156	(58.1%)
Same	74.5	15.7	9.8	51	(18.9%)
Less	64.5	24.2	11.3	62	(23.0%)
<u>Standard of Living</u>					
Higher	67.5	18.8	13.7	117	(38.4%)
Same	73.9	17.2	8.9	157	(51.7%)
Lower	56.7	23.3	20.0	30	(9.9%)
--E A R N I N G S--					
	More %	Same %	Less %		
STANDARD OF LIVING					
Higher	44.1	22.0	34.0		
Same	50.0	72.0	42.4		
Lower	<u>5.9</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>23.6</u>		
N	152	50	59		

higher pay did so with considerable disadvantage in the non-economic sphere: just under 3 in 10 found Bristol the same or worse than the place they lived in before. Though higher earnings must motivate a number of moves, over 4 in 10 persons are likely to move without this incentive, some even accepting lower earnings.

Respondents were asked whether they felt prices of housing, food, clothing and transport were different from those at the place they were living in before. Of course these opinions depended to a large measure on the previous residence of respondents and replies were thus fairly well spread: in no case did more than half of respondents say that an item was higher or lower than elsewhere, though close on half thought prices of housing in Bristol were higher, but then a third thought they

were lower. A very crude index was devised in order to obtain some overall idea: all those thinking prices were higher scored 1, the same 0 and lower -1. This sum was then divided by the total replies and multiplied by 100.

Table V 12.

BRISTOL PRICES COMPARED TO THOSE IN
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

	Higher %	Same %	Lower %	Total N	Index
Housing	48.9	17.6	33.5	289	15.1
Food	22.4	48.6	29.0	290	- 6.6
Clothes	7.8	67.0	25.2	296	-17.6
Transport	41.5	33.4	25.1	248	16.5
Average	29.9	41.9	28.2	281	1.8

On this basis, the two items generally thought to be more expensive in Bristol were transport and housing, indices being roughly equivalent for the two, while clothes were considered to be much cheaper and food a little cheaper. The overall index of 1.8, however, is very low which tends to indicate that on average items in Bristol cost the same as elsewhere. However, the main object of this question was not to compare prices in Bristol in a general way to prices elsewhere, but to allow respondents to make some sort of estimate on changes in their standard of living taking into account changes in earnings and prices.

While just under 4 in 10 said their standard of living was higher in Bristol, over half experienced no change at all. Yet when asked about satisfaction with Bristol in general a larger proportion of those who experienced no change considered Bristol better and a smaller proportion considered it worse. (see table V 11.) Clearly, a majority have moved for reasons other than the purely economic advantages involved. Though the majority of moves made today are made by those in the labour force,

higher pay is only one among many other factors taken into account and even those not experiencing an improvement in standard of living can be highly satisfied with other advantages. (See Table V.11.)

It will already have been noticed that not all who earned a higher salary considered their standard of living to be higher and vica versa. Where standard of living and earnings could be compared, exactly half of those earning more retained the same standard of living and some even experienced a drop in standard of living. On the other hand among all who earned less, over three quarters either retained the same standard of living or improved upon it. This would tend to indicate that some sort of calculation is made before migration in which possible differences in earnings are not the major factors in deciding the move but they are only considered in so far as they could effect the general standard of living. If this standard of living could be retained in spite of a drop in earnings, then the decision to move is probably made in taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of non-economic aspects.

3. Integration in Bristol

What bearing did the migrants' settling down in Bristol have on his satisfaction? Did he make local friends easily? Identify with neighbours? Join local groups?

Respondents were given a list of different types of friends and were asked to state if they had friends among any of these and if so which type they considered their best friend to belong to. Over a third of migrants said best friends were 'work mates' while a further fifth said they were people known from previous residences. Thus it appeared that over half of migrants had best friends who were not local. But the fact that they were less attached to local people did not appear to influence their opinion of Bristol. A larger proportion who had non-

local best friends considering Bristol better and a smaller proportion considering it worse than proportions of those who had local friends.

Table V 13.

BEST FRIENDS, VISITS AND VISITORS AND SATISFACTION					
Best Fr.	Better %	Same %	Worse	Total N	%
Local	64.3	22.7	13.0	154	36.6
Non-Local	71.5	17.0	11.5	235	55.8%
Other	60.6	33.4	6.0	33	7.6%
Av. Visitors	4.61	3.76	3.69		
Av. Visits	1.82	1.84	1.82		

Although those saying Bristol was better had a higher average of visitors to their home in the week previous to interview than those who considered Bristol worse, differences in averages were not significant. And average number of visits which they had made themselves were identical for the two groups. But those who never had get togethers with their friends were less likely to be satisfied with Bristol in general fewer saying it was better and more considering it worse, However, only 15.1% of all respondents said they never had get-togethers.

Table V 14.

GET TOGETHERS; IDENTIFICATION WITH NEIGHBOURS, GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND SATISFACTION						
		Better %	Same %	Worse %	Total N	%
Get-togethers	Reg.	68.5	19.8	11.7	121	28.8%
	Occ.	71.0	18.8	10.2	234	55.4%
	Nev.	60.4	23.8	15.8	67	15.8%
Soc. Class of Neighbours.	Higher	53.9	26.9	19.2	26	10.2%
	Same	67.5	20.5	12.0	200	79.2%
	Lower	77.8	18.5	3.7	27	10.6%
Belong to local group		69.2	18.8	12.0	335	79.5%
Do not belong		63.2	26.4	10.4	87	20.5%

When asked to compare the social class of their neighbours to that which they believed they belonged to, 79.0% thought neighbours were in the same class as themselves. Opinion about their neighbours tended to influence their satisfaction with Bristol. There was definitely less satisfaction with Bristol in general when they considered neighbours to be of a higher social class than themselves, fewer saying they were better off and more considering to be worse off. On the other hand the highest degree of satisfaction and lowest dissatisfaction was expressed by those who considered neighbours in a lower class than themselves. But as it was pointed out, these are the opinions of a minority for most migrants considered neighbours to be in the same class as themselves. Finally, there were no significant differences in degree of satisfaction between those who belonged and those who did not belong to a local group. The fact that 79.3% of migrants did belong to a group is proof of the fact that they had little difficulty in integrating locally.

4. Determinants of Satisfaction.

In the last three paragraphs we have endeavoured to see what were the greatest influences on satisfaction or dissatisfaction with Bristol. In summarising these determinants of satisfaction one may have some idea of aspects likely to influence the decision to move.

The highest association with satisfaction was found among those who thought it was easier to make friends in Bristol, 82.1% saying Bristol was better. And dissatisfaction among those who found it more difficult to make friends in Bristol was ranked second highest among all dissatisfaction. The facility with which one can make friends seems to be very important to the migrant. However, this is hardly an aspect which he can take into account before deciding to migrate, since in most cases he would not know what sort of a reception he would receive in his new surroundings. The fact that only 3 in 10 found it more difficult

to make friends in Bristol than elsewhere meant that the majority of migrants were better off. If Bristol had been a less friendly city, degree of satisfaction would probably have been much lower.

The next highest association with satisfaction was job satisfaction, 76.3% of those having a better job considering Bristol to be better off while the highest degree of dissatisfaction was expressed by those who felt that their Bristol job was worse. However, of all respondents considered, only 7.5% said Bristol job was worse so that again, a large majority have made a move for the better. This relationship between job satisfaction and general satisfaction will be reconsidered in the next section.

Other high associations with satisfaction where over 7 in 10 considered themselves better off in Bristol than in their previous places, included those who did not feel 'at home' in a place other than Bristol, those whose last residence was a very small population centre (<25,000) or a town similar in size to Bristol, workers who earned the same in Bristol as in their previous place, those who knew Bristol very well before coming and those who retained the same standard of living as in their previous place. Having non-local best friends, better housing, get-togethers occasionally and higher pay were also highly correlated with satisfaction.

High association with dissatisfaction other than that of the job and the difficulty of making friends, where over 15% considered themselves worse off, included those whose standard of living was lower, those who considered a place other than Bristol was home, those coming to Bristol from abroad or from London, those who never had get-togethers with friends, those who knew Bristol only fairly well before coming and those who felt their Bristol housing was worse.

In conclusion then, the satisfied migrant is most likely to be

one who finds it easy to make new friends, who is satisfied with his job, who has few attachments to any other place and who comes from a centre either similar to Bristol or one much smaller. Other things like previous knowledge of Bristol, changes in standard of living also tend to have important bearing on satisfaction.

Part 2. Satisfaction, Work and Non-work.

In the last section we have seen that there is a strong association between general satisfaction and job satisfaction. This is hardly surprising because of the important role the work situation plays in the lives of the individuals. In fact, work has become a dominant influence and has important consequences for attitudes and behaviour in the non-work situation. (2) W.H. Whyte has pointed out that men strongly committed to their careers will not draw any clear distinction between work and leisure, combining vacation trips with business and social life with business contacts. (3) Work and career considerations weigh heavily in the decision to migrate for most migrants. However, as we have seen, a considerable number did not give 'work' as a main reason for coming to Bristol. Other considerations like proximity to family and friends, seeking more pleasant surroundings and the like, appeared to be more important for many respondents.

If the principal reason for moving could be used as a measure of importance of work, one may study how the saliency of work affects opinions, attitudes and behaviour in work and non-work situations. Would the saliency of the work role influence attitudes to the present job? How do those who feel a lack of interest from their work react? How do they compare to those finding work very interesting? Are they

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- (2) For a full discussion of 'work and non-work' see: Cotgrove S. The Science of Society, Chapter 4. George Allen and Unwin.
(3) Whyte, W.H. The Organization Man, Jonathan Cape, London.

more likely to participate in social activities? To what extent is further migration considered as a solution to dissatisfaction with the present job? One would expect persons who find little interest in their work and who find little compensation in non-work activities to be least satisfied and more likely than others to want to move off again to seek opportunities elsewhere.

This section is an attempt to see how saliency of work and attitude to work influences behaviour and attitudes outside of work and how they relate to general satisfaction and future migration intentions. The study is limited to married migrant males who are working. The saliency of the work situation is measured by whether the move to Bristol was motivated by work or non-work reasons.

Attitude to present job is measured by replies to the question:

'Do you consider your work to be a means of earning a livelihood but holding little personal interest or as interesting as the things

you do at home and in your spare time or much more interesting than anything else you do? A 'home activities score' is based on average scores from questions concerning help given to wives and jobs done about the home including cooking, cleaning laundry, repairs, decorating (each scoring 3 points when done regularly and 2 when done occasionally) laying table, washing up and shopping (each scoring 2 for regularly and 1 for occasionally). If any of these tasks were never done the score was, of course, zero. Social activities is based on scores from a question concerning visits to relatives and friends, parties, cinemas, conferences and pubs, all who do visit these scoring 1 and the rest zero.

1. Saliency and Attitude to Work.

Among 252 respondents, just under a fifth found that their jobs held no interest at all, almost 6 in 10 said it was as interesting

as the things they did at home and the rest found it more interesting than anything else. Thus, a majority seem to get as much satisfaction from work as from the non-work situation.

Table V 15.

REASON FOR COMING TO BRISTOL AND
ATTITUDE TO PRESENT JOB

Present job	Reason				Total	%
	Work	%	Non-W	%		
Holds no interest	28	15.8	18	24.0	46	18.2
As interesting as home	106	59.9	40	53.3	146	58.0
Very interesting	43	24.3	17	22.7	60	23.8
TOTAL	177	100.0	75	100.0	252	100.0
	(70.2)		(29.8)		(100.0)	

Among these respondents, work was considered to be salient for 70.2%, for they gave 'work' as a prime reason for moving to Bristol, and it would appear that the saliency of the work situation had some bearing on attitude to work for only 15.8% of those migrating for work reasons compared to 24.0% of those coming for other reasons, considered that their work held no interest. A slightly higher proportion of the former, also considered work to be more interesting than anything else. This would tend to indicate that persons who have to move for reasons other than their work are more likely to take jobs which are less suited to their abilities and in which they do not attain great satisfaction. Degree of satisfaction with the move to Bristol was measured in response to the question on whether respondents found Bristol much better, a little better, the same, a little or much worse than the place they were living in before, those considering Bristol better scoring 2 and 1, those finding it worse, -1 and -2 while those finding it the same scored zero. On this basis, average scores revealed that there was a highly significant difference between the attitudes to Bristol of

those who found no interest in their work and the rest. A much larger proportion of those who found some interest in their work expressed general satisfaction.

Table V 16.

AVERAGE SATISFACTION SCORES BY ATTITUDE TO PRESENT

JOB AND REASON FOR COMING

	Work holds no interest	as interesting as home + v. interesting
All Respondents	0.46	1.06
Migration for work reasons	0.54	1.05
" " non-work "	0.33	1.06

But among all who didn't consider their work interesting, those migrating for work reasons were slightly more satisfied in general than those coming for other reasons, although one might have expected that if they had come for work reasons and then found an uninteresting job, their general dissatisfaction might have been more intense. Among the rest, reason for migrating did not influence average satisfaction scores.

2. Non-work Activities.

Were those migrants who found little interest in their work more likely than others to seek compensation in non-work activities? It did not appear so, for this group had the lowest average score on 'home' activities, even those who found their work more interesting than anything else, scoring a higher average.

Table V 17.

AVERAGE 'HOME' SCORES BY ATTITUDE TO PRESENT JOB

Reason for coming	AND REASON FOR COMING			
	No Int.	As Home	Present job V.Int.	All
All Respondents	10.46	11.78	11.10	11.38
Reason Work	10.39	11.38	10.79	11.07
Reason N-Work	10.56	12.88	11.88	12.09

However, averages did not differ significantly. Among all respondents those whose migration was motivated by 'non-work' considerations had a higher score on home activities than those coming for 'work' reasons. And this was true irrespective of the respondents attitude to his present work. The group which scored consistently higher on home activities, was that of respondents who felt their work was just as interesting as the things they did at home. It would thus appear that those finding no interest in their work are also least likely to participate in home activities, but that those for whom work is salient are also less likely to do things about the home.

Turning to other social activities, based here mainly on different types of outings, again those who found work uninteresting scored a lower average than the other two groups. In this case the average was very significantly lower. Here the saliency of work had the inverse effect on scores, all those coming to Bristol for work reasons scoring higher averages than those coming for non-work reasons, the difference being just significant.

Table V 18.

AVERAGE 'SOCIAL ACTIVITIES' SCORES BY ATTITUDE TO PRESENT JOB
AND REASON FOR COMING

Reason for coming	No Int.	Present job		All
		As Home	V.Int.	
All Respondents	4.35	5.06	5.05	4.93
Reason Work	4.39	5.16	5.09	5.02
Reason N-Work	4.28	4.80	4.94	4.71

So it would appear that if work is important in the life of the individual, it would more likely than not, encourage him to take part in more social activities and as a result he is less likely to be doing things about the home.

The above tends to indicate that those who do not find their work interesting are not more likely than others to seek refuge in home and social activities. Lack of interest in work tends to be associated with a lack of interest in other activities as well. In fact, those who found their work very interesting tended to participate in significantly more social activities.

3. Satisfaction and Future Migration.

Since those finding no interest in their work appear to find little compensation from the 'non-work' situation, it is not surprising that they are least satisfied with Bristol in general. What is their reaction to this general dissatisfaction? Are they more likely than others to want to leave Bristol to seek opportunities elsewhere?

Of all who found their work uninteresting 59.0% intended leaving while 48.5% of the others intended leaving. There is thus some evidence that the dissatisfied are more likely to move off. However, differences in these proportions were not significant.

Table V 19.

AVERAGE COMBINED HOME AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES SCORES
BY ATTITUDE TO PRESENT JOB AND REASON FOR COMING.

Reason for coming	No.Int.	Present job		All.
		As Home	V.Int.	
All respondents	4.35	5.06	5.05	4.93
Reason Work	4.39	5.16	5.09	5.02
Reason N-Work	4.28	4.80	4.94	4.71

In fact, the proportion who intended migrating among those who were more satisfied was fairly high - this aspect will be treated in Chapter VII. But returning to the group who found no interest in their work, did their original intention for coming to Bristol influence their decision to leave again? It did not appear so, for about 6 in 10 each of those for whom work was salient and for whom it was not, intended leaving.

This section has tried to study how the saliency of work and attitudes to present job affected behaviour and opinions. It would appear that those who moved for work reasons were more likely than others to find work interesting. Those who find work interesting are also more likely than others to participate in home and social activities. On the contrary, those who find no interest in their work tend to lack interest in non-work activities as well. Because of little interest in both work and non-work activities, these respondents express the lowest degree of satisfaction with Bristol and are more likely than others to want to move off again.

CONCLUSION.

Though persons in the labour force are more likely to migrate than others, just under half of the main reasons given for migrating were not directly related to work. In the minds of many movers, other aspects like proximity to family and friends and general advantages are considered more important in the decision to move. However, it

must be noted that almost a fifth of moves were made for further studies and this could be considered as a first step in the careers of individuals.

Whether respondents felt they were forced to move or not did not significantly influence their general satisfaction. There tended to be a relationship between satisfaction and previous residence: Those who came from very small villages and cities of similar size to Bristol were the most satisfied, while Londoners and those coming from abroad were least satisfied. Previous knowledge of Bristol also tended to influence general satisfaction: the more that was known about the city before the move was made, the more likely respondents were to be satisfied.

Most important advantages included the 'interesting city' and 'good facilities' but facilities were also mentioned by a large number as a chief disadvantage. These opinions were undoubtedly influenced by the fact that respondents came from such diverse previous residences. The strongest relationship to satisfaction was that of making friends easily: more importance tended to be attached to this aspect than to any other.

In studying economic advantages and disadvantages of the move, often thought to be the only ones taken into account by the intending migrants, it was seen that only 6 in 10 had a job where they earned more than in their previous place and only 4 in 10 considered their standard of living to have improved. So it would appear that there was no economic advantage for several movers. Yet, those who did not earn more or did not experience an improvement in standard of living were not less satisfied with their move to Bristol. Many mentioned intrinsic advantages of their Bristol jobs. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the Bristol job were strongly related to general opinion of Bristol.

This strong relationship between general and work satisfaction prompted us to see how the saliency of work and attitudes toward the Bristol job affected attitudes and behaviour in the non-work situation, general satisfaction and future migration plans. It appeared that those who moved for work reasons were more likely to find an interesting job. Dissatisfaction in work tended to make respondents dissatisfied in the non-work situation and this led to general dissatisfaction with Bristol. Those who were dissatisfied were also more likely to want to move off again.

Chapter VI.

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

INTRODUCTION

Comparisons of social class of migrants and residents in Chapter IV have shown that the former are of significantly higher status. This chapter proposes to study changes in social status which have occurred between and within generations and the relationship between migration and social mobility. It has been suggested that migration is a result and not a cause of social mobility⁽¹⁾. It would thus seem that when a person enters a social class different from that of his kin, he would be less likely to associate with them and would possibly move away from them. In the first part of this chapter, inter-generational changes in social status and the effect of social and geographical mobility on contacts with relatives will be studied. This will be followed by a comparison of intra-generational changes of status of migrants and residents.

In a second part of the chapter several hypotheses concerning social and geographical backgrounds of respondents, put forward by Lipset and Bendix in their study 'Social Mobility in Industrial Society'⁽²⁾ will be tested, for there is some indication that in modern migrations, movement from rural areas and small cities tends to facilitate upward mobility of the urban native to a lesser degree than that suggested by these authors. First a comparison among migrants from different communities of orientation will be made to see what influence this has on social mobility chances of individuals. Then those whose community of orientation is a large metropolis (Bristol)

(1) Gosta Carlson, "The Causal Connection between Migration and Social Mobility," Paper 8, Fourth Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, International Sociological Association, Dec. '57

(2) Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R. Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press, 1959, 309 p.

will first be compared to all migrants and then only to those migrants from smaller areas.

In all cases the Hall-Jones classification of occupations is used and only the cases where comparisons could be made (excluding those who didn't know fathers' occupations and those not working five years ago) are included.

Part 1. Inter and Intra-generational mobility

1. Inter-generational mobility

In this study respondents' present occupations will be compared to those of their fathers when fathers were about the same age as respondents. Firstly, it is necessary to describe the structure of respondents' and fathers' occupations. However, a number of respondents didn't know fathers' occupations so total numbers are limited to 290 migrants and 336 residents.

Table VI.1.
COMPARISONS OF FATHERS' AND RESPONDENTS'
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>M i g r a n t s</u>		<u>R e s i d e n t s</u>	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
	%	%	%	%
Professional-High Admin.	11.4	27.2	7.1	12.8
Managerial-Executive	12.4	20.7	8.3	14.0
Inspectional-Higher grade	19.3	17.6	21.5	23.8
Inspectional-Lower grade	14.8	10.0	9.5	8.9
Routine non-manual	6.6	5.9	7.4	6.8
Skilled Manual	25.9	12.8	29.9	23.8
Semi-skilled	4.8	3.4	9.5	6.0
Unskilled	4.8	2.4	6.8	3.9
TOTAL (N)	290	290	336	336

On the whole migrants tend to come from higher status backgrounds than residents: just over two thirds of migrant fathers compared to slightly over half of resident fathers were in non-manual occupations. This means that there was more likelihood of migrants being in non-manual occupations (if they retained the same status as fathers)

but an appreciable number of manual origin must have achieved non-manual status for in the present situation of respondents, 8 in 10 migrants compared to two-thirds of residents (difference of 15.1% compared to a difference of 10.7% among fathers' occupations) were in non-manual positions.

What is the exact extent of inter-generational mobility? Among migrants, only a quarter retained the same status jobs as fathers, slightly over half were in higher status jobs and 22.8% were in lower status jobs. These respective proportions for residents were: same 31.3%, higher 46.1% and lower 22.6%. Thus, not only is there geographical distance between migrants and their fathers but three-quarters compared to two-thirds of residents, were also socially removed from their fathers. However, the amount of mobility should be taken into account, since it could be argued for example, that sons of class 2 fathers who were themselves in class 1, would not necessarily feel themselves socially different from fathers. By how many classes did respondents differ from their fathers? To what extent were these differences across the manual--non-manual line?

Among all respondents who were upwardly mobile compared to fathers, residents tended more than migrants to remain in classes close to that of their fathers, which would imply that the social break with fathers was less severe: 4 in 10 residents compared to a quarter of migrants went up only one class. If being removed 3 or more classes from fathers' status could be considered a large social break, then many more upwardly mobile migrants (52.0%) than residents (37.4%) have made this break. However, when considering those who were downwardly mobile proportions moving down one, two, three, four and more classes, were fairly similar, over half in both groups only moving down one class.

When comparing fathers' and sons' occupations in the non-manual and manual categories, it was seen that of all migrants whose fathers were non-manual, 91.5% retained non-manual status while this proportion

was just slightly lower for residents: 87.0%. But only 36.8% of migrants compared to 57.2% of residents whose fathers were manual,

Table VI.2a.

INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY

<u>M i g r a n t s</u>							<u>R e s i d e n t s</u>						
UP	1	2	3	4+	(N)	%	1	2	3	4+	(N)	%	
	% 26.3	21.7	23.7	28.3	(152)	52.4	40.0	22.6	22.0	15.4	(155)	46.1	
DN	% 51.5	28.7	9.2	10.6	(66)	22.8	56.5	27.6	10.5	5.4	(76)	22.6	
SAME					(72)	24.8					(105)	31.3	

Table VI.2b.

CHANGES IN MANUAL AND NON-MANUAL STATUS

<u>M i g r a n t s</u>					<u>R e s i d e n t s</u>				
	<u>--Manual--</u>		<u>Non-manual</u>			<u>--Manual--</u>		<u>Non-manual</u>	
Father	103		187			155		181	
	<u>Man.</u>	<u>N.man.</u>	<u>Man.</u>	<u>N.man.</u>		<u>Man.</u>	<u>N.man.</u>	<u>Man.</u>	<u>N.man.</u>
Son	38	65	16	171		89	66	24	157
%	36.8	63.2	8.5	91.5		57.2	42.8	13.2	86.8

remained in the manual class themselves. Thus in both groups upward mobility is much stronger than downward mobility, but migrants have a definite advantage over non-migrants. There was no significant difference in mobility between migrants and residents of non-manual origin, but among respondents of manual origin, a highly significantly larger proportion of migrants attained non-manual status.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis:

- 1) migrants are more likely than residents to come from higher status backgrounds, 2) there are more changes of status among migrants than among residents, 3) a slightly higher proportion of migrants than residents were upwardly mobile compared to fathers, 4) upwardly mobile migrants move more classes on average from their fathers' position than do upwardly mobile residents, 5) downwardly mobile migrants and residents tend to move similar distances from fathers' status, 6) among

all persons of manual origin, migrants are much more likely than residents to move to a non-manual position and 7) among all persons of non-manual origin, migrants are slightly more likely than residents to retain non-manual status.

Since there is reason to believe that persons move geographically after they have been socially mobile, that they move away from relatives and friends if they no longer feel they belong to the same class as these, an attempt was made to see how geographical and social mobility affected contacts with relatives. A socially mobile person is considered to be one who has a different status occupation from that of his father, while contact is measured in response to the question: "Do you visit close relatives living outside of Bristol?"

Among migrants whose social status remained the same as that of their fathers, 26.4% said they visited relatives, while this proportion was 20.6% among those who had a different status from that of their fathers. Among those who were downwardly mobile compared to fathers, 23.9% visited relatives while the proportion was only 19.2% for the upwardly mobile. There is definitely some evidence that those who

Table V.3.

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND CONTACT WITH RELATIVES							
Respondents' Occupation compared to Fathers' Occupation							
		Same	Upwardly mobile			Downwardly mobile	
			2 cl.	3+	Tot.UP	2 cl.	3+ Tot.DN
Visit relatives %	26.4		15.1	23.1	19.2	22.7	28.6 23.9
Do not visit %	73.6		84.9	76.9	80.8	77.3	71.4 76.1
Total (N)		(72)	(73)	(78)	(151)	(53)	(14) (67)

are both socially and geographically mobile, tend to have less contact with relatives and all the more so if they are upwardly mobile. One of the possible reasons why more of the downwardly mobile retain contact with relatives, could be that explained by Lipset and Bendix:

".....a person who raises his occupational status will normally seek to raise his social status: the man who moves downward occupationally will try to retain his social position"⁽³⁾. In this survey, while more of the downwardly mobile retain contact with relatives (fathers) who are in higher social classes than themselves, more of the upwardly mobile tend to disassociate with relatives. However, the amount of mobility, both upward and downward, tended to influence contacts in a negative way. Of those who had gone up one or two classes, only 15.1% visited relatives while 23.1% of those who went up more than two classes visited. Of those who went down two classes, 22.7% retained contact while this proportion was 28.6% for those going down more than two classes. A possible explanation for this situation could be that among all who were upwardly mobile, the need for demonstrating their 'achieved status' was less acute among those who were obviously different from their relatives (because they were in classes over 2 times higher than that of their fathers) than among those who were in classes adjacent to that of their relatives. Among those who moved down, it would appear that the further they were removed from the status of their family of origin, the more likely they would be to want to keep up appearances by associating with these.

In all of the above figures however, numbers in each group are small and though there is a general tendency towards less contact among the socially mobile, none of the differences were found to be significant.

2. Intra-generational mobility

Present and first jobs could be compared for 300 migrants and 357 residents. However, in many cases, especially among young respondents, first and present jobs coincided since the respondent had not yet changed jobs. So it is necessary to study mobility by three age groups: 1) 21-35: considered to be the most migratory age-group
(3) op. cit. p.6

2) 36-50: a period when most persons are consolidating their positions or reaching the peak of their careers and 3) over 50 years. Also, it is necessary when considering upward and downward mobility, to control for those who entered directly into class 1 occupations and could not therefore, be upwardly mobile and those whose first jobs were in the lowest class and could not be downwardly mobile.

Among migrants, 13.3% entered directly into class 1 occupations while this proportion was only 5.3% among residents. And while the first job of only 6.3% of migrants was in the lowest class (class 8) as many as 13.4% of residents held first jobs in this class. Considering first jobs in terms of manual and non-manual classes, while just over a third of migrants held manual first jobs this proportion for residents was 54.1%. The higher status first occupations of migrants reflect their higher class backgrounds (fathers' status) and their better educational qualifications.

Because there were more residents than migrants who held low-status first jobs, the former had more possibility of being upwardly mobile. And though this proved to be the case generally, when a control was made for age, differences were reduced. Among all residents, 55.4% had present occupations in a higher class than their first jobs, 39.1% remained in the same class and 5.5% were downwardly mobile. Among migrants these proportions were: up 51.5%, same 42.2% and down 6.3%.

However when a control was made for age, it appeared that migrants in the age-group 36-50 were considerably more mobile, socially, than residents, only a quarter retaining same status between first and present occupations compared to 4 in 10 residents. While 7 in 10 migrants in this age group were upwardly mobile, this proportion was 56.7% for residents. However, tests indicated that the difference was not significant. In the other two age groups proportions moving up and down the social scale were very similar for migrants and residents.

A control by age of mobility between first and present jobs showed that proportions of residents moving up or down in the three age groups were very similar. This tended to be the same for migrants in the lower and higher age groups but the age group 36-50 differs strikingly from these. Only a quarter had present and first

Table VI.4.
MOBILITY BETWEEN FIRST AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONS
BY AGE-GROUP

Age group	<u>M i g r a n t s</u>				<u>R e s i d e n t s</u>			
	Same %	Up %	Down %	Total (N)	Same %	Up %	Down %	Total (N)
21-35	40.3	50.0	9.7	114	38.8	53.0	8.2	49
36-50	25.0	70.2	4.8	84	38.2	56.7	5.1	97
51+	37.2	53.5	9.3	43	38.1	55.0	6.9	144

jobs in the same category compared to migrants in the lower and higher age-groups. Since the age-group 36-50 is considered as the group where persons are consolidating their positions or reaching the peak of their careers, it would appear that migration plays an important part in the process of mounting the career ladder, for 70.2% of migrants compared to only 56.7% of residents in this age-group, were upwardly mobile. Presumably, migrants in the younger age group have not yet reached the peak of their careers and therefore, there is a strong possibility that they will still be socially mobile, while those in the over 51 year group are those whose motivation for migration was not directly influenced by career considerations. Numerically this is the smallest group among migrants.

Some indication of recent social mobility was obtained by comparing respondents occupations of five years ago with present occupations. However, numbers were reduced by the fact that so many were not working five years ago and results thus apply to 252 migrants and 313 residents. On the whole there was little change in the past five years, 79.0% of migrants and 88.1% of residents holding jobs of same

status at present as those they held five years ago. But while 17.1% of migrants were upwardly mobile, only 1 in 10 residents had gone up. However, among all the upwardly mobile, while 4 in 10 migrants had gone up more than one class this proportion was almost 6 in 10 of residents.

An attempt was made to see if the move to Bristol was accompanied by a change in status. In 158 cases of migrants who moved to Bristol in the past five years and who were working five years ago, over three-quarters retained the same status jobs only 18.4% being upwardly mobile.

There appears to be some evidence here, to support the idea that migration is a result and not a cause of social mobility. The actual migratory move tends to be accompanied by little mobility either up or down: over three quarters moving in the past five years retaining same status, whereas among migrants who could be compared to fathers, only a quarter retained same status. It seems that changes in social status occur first and that migration follows as a result. That is to say, migrants have embarked on the kinds of careers which are associated with geographical mobility.

Part 2. Migration and Social Mobility

In their study "Social Mobility in Industrial Society", Lipset and Bendix have devoted a chapter to the relationship between urbanization, migration and social mobility.⁽⁴⁾ The underlying themes of this chapter are, that the community of orientation of the individual influences his chances of social mobility and that "migration from rural areas and small cities to metropolitan areas serves to facilitate upward mobility by those native to urban life".⁽⁵⁾ The object of this section is 1) to see to what extent community of orientation has influenced social mobility chances of migrants 2) to see to what extent the changing pattern of migration from one of rural to urban

⁽⁴⁾ op. cit. Chapter VIII, Community Structure, pp. 203-226

⁽⁵⁾ op. cit. p.206

movement to one of inter-urban changes has affected social mobility chances of urban natives and 3) to compare social mobility chances of small city and rural migrants to those of the metropolitan natives who are not geographically mobile.

Four hypotheses are tested in each case:

- 1) The larger a man's community of orientation the higher the status he will achieve.
- 2) Working class youth growing up in large cities are much more likely to reach high occupational status than others.
- 3) Those from smaller communities are more likely to fall from a non-manual first job and less likely to rise from a manual first.
- 4) The positive effect of being reared in the city is found among those with less than high school education.

In this study the place where respondents said they had lived most of their lives will serve as community of orientation (Lipset and Bendix used the place where respondents had lived between ages 13-19) and these are divided into large centres (+250,000 inhabitants) medium-size centres (25,000-249,999) and small centres(-25,000).

1. Migrants and Community of Orientation

Present social status and places lived most life were compared for 255 migrants. Of all those who had spent most of their lives in large centres three quarters were in high status non-manual occupations, while this proportion was two-thirds for medium size centres and only 46.5% for those living most life in small centres. If one considers all those attaining non-manual status then the respective proportions are: 89.1%, 81.6% and 72.4%. Though proportions in non-manual jobs are fairly high in all three cases, there is no doubt that the larger the community of orientation the more chance respondents had of reaching non-manual jobs and that even among these, those from larger communities were much more likely than others to occupy the highest non-manual positions.

When a significance test was applied, it was seen that there was

a highly significant difference between those attaining career jobs and the rest, favouring those who had lived most of their lives in

Table VI.5a.

PRESENT SOCIAL STATUS AND COMMUNITY
OF ORIENTATION OF MIGRANTS

Present Status

	<u>L i v e d M o s t L i f e</u>		
	-25,000	25-250,000	+250,000
	%	%	%
Career	46.5	67.8	74.5
Other Non-Manual	25.9	13.8	14.6
Manual	27.6	18.4	10.9
TOTAL (N)	58	87	110

large centres. However, when considering all those who had attained non-manual status the difference in favour of those living most of their lives in large centres was just significantly higher.

In order to test the second hypothesis, respondents original status was based on that of their fathers, but total numbers were limited because few fathers were in manual jobs.

Respondents who themselves reached the top non-manual jobs represented, respectively, large centres 60.0%, medium centres 44.8% and 22.7%. Thus, of all migrants of working class origin 6 in 10 spending most of their lives in very large centres compared to just over 2 in 10 spending most life in small centres had reached top non-manual status. These proportions for all who attained non-manual jobs were, respectively, 71.4%, 62.0% and 45.4%. There is no doubt that working class youth brought up in large centres have a decided advantage as far as achieving high status is concerned, over those who grow up in smaller population centres.

Tests showed that those who attained career jobs differed significantly in favour of those living most of their lives

in the larger centres. However, this significant difference dis-

Table VI.5b.

PRESENT SOCIAL STATUS AND COMMUNITY OF ORIENTATION
OF MIGRANTS OF WORKING CLASS ORIGIN

Present Status

	<u>L i v e d M o s t L i f e</u>		
	-25,000 %	25-250,000 %	+250,000 %
Career	22.7	44.8	60.0
Other Non-manual	22.7	17.2	11.4
Manual	54.6	38.0	28.6
TOTAL (N)	22	29	35

appeared when comparing all non-manual occupations to the manual group.

The first part of the third hypothesis is difficult to test since out of a total of 300 cases where present and first jobs could be compared, only 19 were downwardly mobile. And only 4 persons moved down from a non-manual to a manual job, 2 of these having lived most of their lives in large cities and 2 in medium-size cities while none of those from small cities moved down from a non-manual job.

However, the available data tend to bear out the second part of the hypothesis that those from smaller communities are less likely to rise from manual first jobs. Among all whose first jobs were manual, 71.0% of those having lived most of their lives in large centres were moved to non-manual jobs while these proportions were 53.2% for medium-size centres and only 40.7% for small centres. The data supports the hypothesis that persons from small places entering into low status jobs have fewer chances than their counter-parts in large cities of achieving higher status. However, there were no significant differences either when comparing career jobs to

the rest or when comparing non-manual to manual.

Table VI.5c.

PRESENT SOCIAL STATUS AND COMMUNITY OF ORIENTATION
OF MIGRANTS HAVING MANUAL FIRST JOBS

Present Status

	<u>L i v e d M o s t L i f e</u>		
	-25,000 %	25-250,000 %	+250,000 %
Career	14.8	33.3	45.2
Other Non-manual	25.9	19.9	25.8
Manual	59.3	46.8	29.0
TOTAL (N)	27	30	31

In order to test the last hypothesis, terminal education age of respondents was used and grouped: 15 and under, 16-18 and 19+. Within each subgroup the number of persons who either retained or had higher status than fathers was compared to the total.

Among all having a terminal educational age of 15 years and less 81.8% of those living most of their lives in large centres compared to 78.1% for medium-size centres and 62.5% for small centres, retained or improved on fathers' status. Thus the positive effect of being reared in the city is definitely found among those with a low terminal education age. However, when one turns to the two higher

Table VI. 5d.

PROPORTIONS OF MIGRANTS WHO RETAINED OR IMPROVED ON
FATHERS' STATUS BY COMMUNITY OF ORIENTATION
AND TERMINAL EDUCATION AGE

T.E.A.	-25,000 %	25-250,000 %	+250,000 %
15 and under	62.5	78.1	81.8
16-18	81.2	77.5	77.0
19 and over	80.0	83.2	82.0

terminal education age-groups differences by size of community of

of orientation are much less marked and in one case even favours those coming from small centres. This tends to confirm the hypothesis that the benefit of living in the city accrues largely to those of low educational status. However, differences were not significant in any of the three groups of terminal education age.

There appears to be no doubt that community of orientation has a definite influence on social mobility chances of migrants for all four hypotheses set out are going in the right direction.

2. Social Mobility Chances of Migrants and Residents

Since community of orientation has such an important influence on social mobility chances, one would expect natives of a large metropolitan city like Bristol to have better chances of upward mobility than migrants into the city. A comparison of all migrants and all who said they had spent most of their lives in Bristol is made for each of the four hypotheses.

Among migrants, two-thirds were in high status non-manual occupations while this proportion was only 45.1% among who had lived most of their lives in Bristol(see table VI.6a.). Considering all those attaining non-manual status the respective proportions were 82.7% and 62.2%. So it hardly seems likely that the influx of migrants into the metropolitan area was to the social advantage of metropolitan natives, for in both cases migrants differed very highly significantly from Bristolians. One could almost say that the influx of high-status migrants have prevented Bristolians from reaching high status positions themselves. One of the reasons for higher status of migrants could be that a large majority of them had spent most of their lives in other large metropolitan centres. Of the 255 cases studied, 43.1% had lived for most of their lives in centres of over 250,000 inhabitants.

Even migrants of low status origin appeared to have better chances than Bristolians of mounting the social ladder(see table VI.6b.).

Table VI.6.

MIGRANTS COMPARED TO THOSE LIVING MOST LIFE IN BRISTOL

<u>Present Status</u>	<u>(a)</u> <u>All Respondents</u>		<u>(b)</u> <u>Resp. of Manual</u> <u>Origin</u>		<u>(c)</u> <u>Resp. whose 1st</u> <u>jobs were manual</u>	
	Migr. %	Bris. %	Migr. %	Bris. %	Migr. %	Bris. %
Career	65.8	45.1	45.3	29.0	31.8	19.3
Oth. Non-manual	16.9	17.1	16.3	13.8	23.5	13.5
Manual	17.3	37.8	38.4	57.2	44.7	67.2
TOTAL (N)	255	309	86	139	88	171

(d)

Retained or improved on Fathers' Status by Terminal Education Age

<u>T.E.A.</u>	15 and under %	16-18 %	19+ %
Migrants	73.8	77.8	82.1
Bristolians	72.9	77.1	90.5

The second hypothesis, that working class youth growing up in large cities are much more likely to reach high occupational status than others was tested for 86 migrants and 139 who had spent most of their lives in Bristol and whose fathers were in manual occupations. While over 4 in 10 migrants reached the top three non-manual positions (career) under 3 in 10 Bristolians had done so, the difference being just significant. But a highly significant difference was found comparing all those who had attained non-manual status: over 6 in 10 migrants of manual origin compared to slightly over 4 in 10 Bristolians of manual origin, were in non-manual occupations at the time of the survey. Again it appears that lower status migrants have a better chance of improving status than those who had spent most of their lives in a metropolitan centre.

Considering only those whose first occupations were manual a comparison of present status for 88 migrants and 171 who had lived most of their lives in Bristol, was made (see table VI.6c.). While over

3 in 10 migrants had reached career jobs under 2 in 10 of Bristolians had done so, the difference being just significant. But the 55.3% of migrants reaching non-manual status differed very highly significantly from the 32.8% of Bristolians. So, even in their own generation, lower status migrants stood a better chance than Bristolians of mounting the social ladder. The results of these last two hypotheses tend to show that low status migrants compete quite actively with metropolitans for the high status positions.

The final hypothesis, that the positive effect of being reared in the city is found among those of low education was tested for 174 Bristolians and 69 migrants with terminal education age of 15 years and under, 83 and 95 and finally 32 and 84 in the two higher terminal education age-groups. However, no significant differences were found in any of the three groups though a slightly higher proportion of Bristolians whose terminal education age was 19 years and over, retained or improved on fathers' status, than the proportion of migrants(see table VI.6d.). But in the two lower groups proportions were very similar, so that low status Bristolians did not appear to be advantaged over low status migrants.

In three of the four hypotheses tested, migrants tended to be considerably advantaged over metropolitans and one of the explanations put forward for this, is that a large proportion of migrants had themselves lived most of their lives in metropolitan centres. It was therefore thought necessary to compare Bristolians only to those migrants who had spent most of their lives in centres of medium-size (25-250,000) and small centres(-25,000). For simplicity, the former will be referred to as 'small city migrants' and the latter as 'rural' migrants.

3. Small-city and Rural Migrants compared to Bristolians.

Small city migrants had significantly higher social status positions than Bristolians the difference being very highly significant both when comparing career jobs to the rest and non-manual to manual jobs. However, there were no significant differences between

Table VI.7.

SMALL-CITY AND RURAL MIGRANTS COMPARED TO BRISTOLIANS

		<u>P r e s e n t S t a t u s</u>			
		Career	Oth.Non-man.	Manual	N
a) <u>All Respondents</u>					
Rural	%	46.5	25.9	27.6	58
Small-city	%	67.8	13.8	18.4	87
Bristol	%	45.1	17.1	37.8	309
b) <u>Of Manual Origin</u>					
Rural	%	22.7	22.7	54.6	22
Small-city	%	44.8	17.2	38.0	29
Bristol	%	29.0	13.8	57.2	139
c) <u>1st job Manual</u>					
Rural	%	14.8	25.9	59.3	27
Small-city	%	33.3	19.9	46.8	30
Bristol	%	19.3	13.5	67.2	171
d) <u>Retained or improved on Fathers' Status by Terminal Education Age</u>					
<u>T.E.A.</u>	15 and under	16-18	19+		
	%	%	%		
Rural	62.5	81.2	80.0		
Small-city	78.1	77.5	83.2		
Bristol	72.9	77.1	90.5		

Bristolians and those who had spent most of their lives in rural centres. Lipset and Bendix have tended to find a similar pattern, for they state that '...men of middle class origin reared in small communities actually do as well or better than those reared in large c'

cities' and they explain 'it is probable that many natives of small communities who secure higher educations, leave their home towns to go to the large cities, where greater opportunity exists'.(6)

While over 6 in 10 Small city migrants of manual origin reached non-manual positions, this proportion was only slightly over 4 in 10 of Bristolians who even had a smaller proportion in non-manual occupations than rural migrants. While 44.8 % of small city migrants of manual origin had reached the top three non-manual positions this was less than 3 in 10 Bristolians, but the proportion of these latter was higher than that of rural migrants(22.7%).

Turning to the third hypothesis, the pattern is similar. Of all whose first jobs were manual a just significantly higher proportion of those living most of their lives in small cities than Bristolians had achieved non-manual status in present occupations (see table VI.7c.). On the other hand there were no significant differences between Bristolians and those living most life in rural centres. Again it is the small-city persons who are more likely than those in the large metropolis to achieve higher status.

Finally, in comparing maintenance or improvement on fathers' status by terminal education age for Bristolians, those living most of their lives in small-cities and in rural centres, no significant differences were found, so that natives of the metropolitan centre did not appear to benefit from any advantage over small-centre persons.

(6)op. cit. p. 206

All four hypotheses tend to show that natives of the metropolis did not have any advantages over those from smaller communities, not even over those from considerably smaller communities. This result may at first appear to contradict the hypothesis put forward by Lipset and Bendix that '... migration from rural areas and small cities to metropolitan areas serves to facilitate upward mobility by those native to urban life'. However, in seeking an explanation for this situation, the following hypothesis is put forward. Since a large proportion of migration is taking place today on an inter-urban basis, those natives of metropolitan centres who are upwardly mobile are the most likely to be geographically mobile as well. This has tended to be the case for migrants coming to Bristol. It can thus be hypothesized that those natives of Bristol who have been socially upwardly mobile, are the very persons who have left Bristol and who are forming the incoming elites of other large metropolitan areas. Unfortunately, nothing is known in this survey of those who have left Bristol to settle elsewhere. One may thus conclude that migrants from rural areas and small cities to the metropolis in serving to facilitate upward mobility of urban natives are also indirectly encouraging out-migration of these, and as a result of this, are better situated socially than the immobile metropolitan population.

The above is but a tentative explanation of the processes at present at work in a metropolitan area like Bristol and further study is necessary, especially concerning out-migrants from the metropolis, to validate these findings. The principal hypotheses of Lipset and Bendix have, how-

ever, definitely been established within the migrant group.

CONCLUSION

Inter-generational changes in status tend to be much more marked among migrants than among residents and the former are also more likely to come from higher status backgrounds. Among the upwardly mobile, migrants tend to move more classes from their fathers' status than do residents, but among the downwardly mobile proportions are similar.

Because there is reason to believe that migration follows on changes in status, possibly because those changing status no longer feel an identity with relatives and friends, an attempt was made to see how changes in status of migrants affected their contact with relatives. There was some evidence that those who changed status were less likely than those who had not changed status, to visit relatives and that among all who had changed, the downwardly mobile were more likely to retain contact with relatives than the upwardly mobile.

A study of intra-generational changes in status revealed that while there was little difference in social mobility between migrants and residents in the lower and higher age groups, migrants in the age-group 36-50, considered the period when persons are consolidating their positions and reaching the peak of their careers, were considerably more socially mobile than residents between first and present jobs.

In the second part of the chapter, several hypotheses concerning

the effect of community of orientation on social mobility chances, were tested. While it was seen that among migrants the larger a man's community of orientation the more chance he had of upward mobility, this did not hold for Bristolians neither when compared to all migrants or when compared to migrants whose community of orientation was smaller in size than Bristol. A possible explanation for this, is that Bristolians who are socially mobile are the very ones are most likely to migrate from Bristol and form the incoming elites of other cities.

This chapter has emphasized that migrants are most likely persons who have embarked on careers associated with geographical mobility. This is the object of the next chapter: to study the relationship between migration and career mobility.

Chapter VII.
MIGRATION AND CAREER MOBILITY

INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters have all indicated that there is a strong relationship between the types of careers taken up by individuals and migration. While 'work' reasons have always featured strongly in migration in the past, the literature on internal migrations tended to indicate that the majority of workers only moved when they were forced to do so. However, recent studies have focussed on the importance of migration in the building up of the career and the term "spiralism" has been used by William Watson⁽¹⁾ to indicate "The progressive ascent of the specialists of different skills through a series of higher positions in one or more hierarchical structures and the concomitant residential mobility through a number of communities at one or more steps during the ascent, forming a characteristic combination of social and spatial mobility".

This does not mean that unskilled persons will not be found among migrants but rather that the propensity to migrate would be greatest among those in career jobs and that persons in certain careers would tend to see migration as an integral part of the job and would not feel that they were forced to move, to the same extent as unskilled persons would.

The first part of this chapter will test a number of hypotheses set out in Chapter II for past and future migrants and for those who never move. The hypotheses relate to three groups: migrants to Bristol; the Bristol-born still living there and past and recent migrants who have settled in Bristol and have no intention of leaving in future. For the first group, paragraph numbers relate to the numbers of hypotheses set out in Chapter II, while for the other two groups hypotheses are treated under the headings of: Career aspects; Kin and Friendship Ties and Other aspects.

(1) Watson, W. "Social Mobility and Social Class in Industrial Communities", in Closed Systems and Open Minds, edited by Max Gluckman, pp.129-157.

In a second part of the chapter, the hypothesis that migration in modern industrial societies is strongly related to life cycle and career pattern variables will be tested on the basis of scores allotted for these variables. An attempt will be made to see how these two groups of variables influence the decision to migrate from Bristol in the future. Similar studies have been made to see how life cycle and career pattern variables influence residential mobility and with some slight modifications it is possible to apply these to future migration intentions.

Part 1. Migration and Career

1. Migrants to Bristol

1. It was first of all postulated that a majority of moves would be motivated by job changes, but that few would consider that they were 'forced to move'. We have already seen that over half of migrants gave 'work' as a principal reason for coming to Bristol, while a further fifth had moved in order to further their studies. Thus 7 in 10 moves were principally motivated by 'career' considerations. But even among

Table VII.1.

PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR MIGRATING

<u>Reason</u>	<u>%</u>
--CAREER	
Appointed to work	38.7
Possibility of better job	10.7
No work in former place	3.1
Studies	18.0
--OTHER REASONS	29.5
TOTAL (N)	422

those who didn't mention work or study as principal reasons, a further tenth gave these as secondary reasons for the move. Thus, one can say that career considerations entered into the decision to migrate for over 8 in 10 moves.

And this appeared to be true for migratory moves prior to the move to Bristol. Among all not born in Bristol who had moved at least

once before coming, over 8 in 10 had moved for work or study reasons. But it is hardly surprising to find that in modern industrial societies the majority of migratory moves are motivated by career considerations. What is important, is to know whether these persons were forced, because of a lack of opportunities in their former place, to move to Bristol.

Among the 222 respondents who gave work as a principal reason for coming to Bristol, only about 5% said they moved because of a lack of work in their former place. However, when confronted directly with the question on whether they felt they were forced to move or not, a third replied affirmatively. In chapter III we saw that a number of those who were forced, gave either personal reasons or being transferred by their firms, and that if these are excluded then those who felt they were forced account for a quarter of all moves.

Forced moves tended to be closely related to size of previous residence and type of job. It appeared that the smaller the centre from which migrants had come to Bristol, the more likely they were to say they had been forced. (see Chapter III, p. 61) This would imply that persons from rural districts are more likely than urbanites to be forced to move. But since 6 in 10 migratory moves in Britain today are taking place between urban centres it is also likely that forced moves would be on the decline. Similarly, the proportion of forced moves tended to be related to the types of jobs respondents were in: while less than 3 in 10 of persons who are in career-type jobs felt they were forced to move, over half of those in ~~manual~~ manual jobs felt so. Since rates of migration are higher (as will be shown later in this chapter) among those in high-status jobs, it would appear that a large majority of migrations in 'normal times', are not composed of persons who are forced to move, but of persons who are free to move or stay. On the other hand, 'forced migrations' are often the result of numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled workers

becoming redundant in times of economic crisis and the like and

Table VII.2.

FORCED MOVES BY TYPE OF JOB

<u>Type of Job</u>	<u>% forced</u>
Career	27.7
Lower non-manual	37.3
Manual	56.4

differ considerably from the normal year to year movements of the population.

2. Because a majority of migratory moves are influenced by career contingencies, it was postulated that the migrant would most likely be a person whose central life interest is focussed on his work or career. As we have seen in the chapter on Migration Differentials, the migrant was much more likely than the non-migrant to 'invest' in his career by longer years of study and that in spite of this difference in educational level, the migrant did not earn a much higher average income than the resident. But there was some evidence that while average earnings for migrants continued to increase with age, those of the residents reached a peak and then started to decline.

Specific questions concerning attitude to work were asked. It was ascertained whether all working respondents foresaw further changes in their working life, their reasons for wanting to change or not to change and how they considered their present jobs.

While just slightly over half of working migrants thought they could get a better job in the future, only a quarter of residents thought so. Respondents who were satisfied in their present jobs were asked to state the main reasons for this satisfaction, while those who thought they could get a better job were asked what they sought most in a future job. Reasons given were classified as follows: 1) Expressive: interesting work, opportunity to use abilities

fully and opportunity to learn something from the job; 2) Instrumental: good pay, security, promotion, and reasonable hours and 3) Autonomy: self-employment and opportunity to take decisions.

Table VII.3.

REASONS FOR SATISFACTION WITH PRESENT JOB OR FOR
WANTING TO SEEK ANOTHER JOB

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>S a t i s f i e d</u>		<u>W a n t t o o C h a n g e</u>	
	Migr.	Res.	Migr.	Res.
	%	%	%	%
Expressive	57.7	45.0	35.8	34.2
Instrumental	33.3	41.6	54.8	62.2
Autonomy	9.0	13.4	9.4	3.6
(N)	(156)	(231)	(159)	(82)
% of group satisf. or wanting change	49.5	73.6	50.5	26.4

Among all who were satisfied in their present work, while over 6 in 10 migrants mentioned "expressive" reasons for satisfaction, this proportion was only 45.0% for residents who opted highly for the instrumental satisfactions from the job and for autonomy. In this respect migrants differed significantly from non-migrants. When all who thought they could get a better job were asked what they sought most, proportions of migrants and residents seeking "expressive" benefits were almost identical, but a fairly higher proportion of residents still wanted 'instrumental' benefits. There is some evidence here that the migrant is less likely than the resident to seek mere instrumental benefits from the job and this confirms previous findings that more money is not the most important factor in prompting migration and moves between jobs.

All working respondents were then asked their opinions about their present job and how it compared to non-work activities. There was very little difference in opinions between migrants and residents, the majority of both groups finding their work as interesting as the things they did at home. There were no strong differences either when married migrants and residents were compared nor when different

age-groups were compared. One must thus conclude that migrants and residents have similar attitudes towards their present jobs but that

Table VII.4.

ATTITUDES TO PRESENT JOB

	<u>T o t a l</u>	
	M %	R %
<u>Present job is....</u>		
A livelihood(LVH)	17.1	16.3
As int. as home(HOM)	59.1	60.6
Most interesting(INT)	23.8	23.1
(N)	(328)	((320)

	<u>By Age</u>						<u>By Marital Status</u>			
	21 - 35	36 - 50	over 50	21 - 35	36 - 50	over 50	-Married-	Not Married		
	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
LVH.	18.2	15.7	14.0	14.2	23.3	18.2	16.6	15.7	18.5	119.6
HOM.	63.1	64.3	61.0	64.6	46.5	54.5	59.1	62.8	59.3	47.8
INT.	18.7	20.0	25.0	21.2	30.2	27.3	24.3	21.5	22.2	32.6
(N)	(176)	(70)	(100)	(127)	(43)	(121)	(247)	(274)	(81)	(46)

there is some evidence that migrants are less likely than residents to seek purely instrumental benefits from work in general, both among those satisfied in their present jobs and among those who think they can get a better job.

3. Because so many professional jobs imply a certain amount of geographical mobility, it was postulated that rates of migration would be higher among persons with 'career' type jobs. Among male migrants where present job and number of independent moves were known, the respective average number of moves made were: career jobs 3.7; lower non-manual 3.4 and manual 2.7. The average number of moves made by those in career jobs proved to be significantly higher than that made by the other two groups combined. However, persons in career jobs are not necessarily those who make the most moves, for persons forever on the move are more likely to be those who cannot settle down rather than those building a career.

Looking at this postulate from another angle, one may ask

if migrants are more likely than the stable population to be in career type jobs. In the chapter on Migration Differentials we saw that, even when matched on age, sex, marital and employment status there were 25.2% more migrants than residents in career jobs. The 1961 census also revealed that over a tenth of professional employees, compared to about 3% each of skilled and semi-skilled male manual workers, had migrated between Local Authority areas in one year. Though skilled manual workers represented a quarter of all movers and semi-skilled a further tenth, while professional employees represented only about 7%, rates were much higher among the latter.

4. In Chapter VI we saw the strong relationship between social and geographical mobility. There is more upward status mobility among migrants than among residents, because the former are more career oriented. While over half of migrants were in higher status jobs than their fathers, this proportion was 46.1% for residents. Among all who were upwardly mobile compared to fathers, over half of migrants compared to less than 4 in 10 residents had gone up more than two classes from their fathers' status while among all who were downwardly mobile, proportions among migrants and residents were fairly similar. Among all respondents whose fathers held manual jobs, close on 6 in 10 migrants compared to slightly over 4 in 10 residents had non-manual jobs.

Comparing first and present jobs, migrants in the age group 36-50 years, ages at which persons are usually consolidating their careers, were much more upwardly mobile than residents, 7 in 10 of the former and 57.0% of the latter being in a higher status job than their first jobs. But in lower and higher age-groups social mobility of migrants and residents was fairly similar.

Migrants thus appear to have better chances for upward social mobility than residents both in inter- and intra-generational changes.

5. Once a person sets out on his career he is likely to have to move several times. It would appear that in many cases the career cycle begins with the first move made to do higher studies in Colleges and Universities. Among respondents in the present survey 8 in 10 had made a first independent move between ages 16 and 26, over half having moved for work reasons and a further quarter to do higher studies.

Average number of independent moves made to date by all migrants was 3.19 and over half had definite intentions of leaving Bristol again. An analysis of the number of moves by age-group, shows that several moves are made during the career:

Age	Av.moves	diff. in av. between age- groups	Future Migration	N
21-30	2.08	---	71.0%	190
31-40	3.47	+1.39	54.1	96
41-50	4.49	+1.02	38.0	63
51+	4.63	+0.14	15.2	72

Those in the youngest age group have made the smallest average number of moves but have the highest proportion who intend moving again. Those in the age-group 41-50 could be considered as having reached the peak of their careers--the average for those in the next age-group is only very slightly higher. If these migrants are typical of migrants in other industrial societies, it would appear that the average career man has to make just over 4 migratory moves in building up his career.

6 + 7. With each migratory move the migrant expects to gain some advantage: economic, social, political, better climate etc. Each advantage or disadvantage, however, will be considered in relative rather than in absolute terms, relative to the place he has been in before, but also relative to possible future advantages. Thus, while there will be a definite relationship between dissatisfaction with present conditions and wanting to move off again, the inverse is not true. Present satisfaction with job, house, surroundings, standard of living and the like is not a guarantee that the migrant will

settle down, In building his career these advantages are considered as another step, but not necessarily the final one. With each successive move the migrant's reference model is changing and each advantage or disadvantage over the previous place is considered in relative rather than in absolute terms.

Over 8 in 10 of those who considered Bristol worse than the place they were living in before, intended leaving Bristol. But among those who found Bristol better and the same as elsewhere, the respective proportions who intended leaving were: 51.0% and 55.8%. Similarly, while close on 7 in 10 whose Bristol job was worse intended leaving, just under half whose Bristol job was better and close on 6 in 10 whose Bristol job was the same as the one held in a previous place intended leaving. This is a clear indication that while dissatisfaction leads to further migration, satisfaction is not an indication that the respondent is settling down. Over half of those who had a higher standard of living in Bristol also intended leaving.

Thus each step in migration appears to be another in the building of the career. No matter what the advantages gained, they are seen relatively to past advantages and to possible future advantages, so that, until the migrant feels he has reached the peak of his career when he can no longer see any further possible advantage in migrating he will continue to move.

8 + 9. Since the migrant, until he reaches the peak of his career, does not intend settling down, his attachment to local communities is limited. His main centre of interest is his job and the world 'outside the community' where he will have most of his friends. He has little foreknowledge about successive places he lives in.

Over a third of migrants said their best friends were workmates and a further fifth said they were persons known in previous residences. Thus over half of migrants consider their best friends to be persons who are not specifically 'local'. When asked who they would turn to in case of emergency, while almost 8 in 10 residents said they would

turn to local people (kin, friends, neighbours) this proportion was 7 in 10 of migrants, the rest turning to workmates, their firms or the bank.

More than 6 in 10 migrants did not know Bristol at all before the coming there and a further fifth knew it only fairly well. Because of this 'superficial' attachment to local communities the migrant is less likely to find difficulty in moving off again, when further opportunities arise for advancing his career.

10, 11 + 12. Migrant husbands and wives tended to be more close-knit as far as the sharing of household duties and outings together were concerned. They scored average points which were very significantly higher than those scored by married residents, for sharing of household duties including cooking, laying table, washing up, cleaning house, shopping, laundry and minding children. As far as outings were concerned, migrant couples were much more likely than resident couples to attend these together, differences in average scores being very highly significant. But there were no significant differences

Table VII.5.

AVERAGE CONJUGAL ROLE SCORES FOR
MIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS

	Migrants	Residents	Signif.
Sharing household tasks	7.11	6.33	$p < 0.01$
Outings together	14.82	14.55	$p < 0.001$
Work about the home	6.57	6.90	n.s.

between the two groups as far as work about the home, including repairs, gardening and decorating were concerned and here, residents scored a higher average. This was due to the fact that a larger proportion of married migrants (42.6%) were renting their homes while only 18.6% of married residents were renters.

Planning the family budget was a joint effort by husband and wife in a very significantly higher proportion of migrant than resident homes and higher proportions of migrants than residents discussed their work regularly with their wives. Wives of migrants

tended more than wives of residents to help husbands in their work.

Table VII.6.
FAMILY BUDGET AND WIFE'S INTEREST IN
HUSBAND'S WORK

	Migrants	Residents	Signif.
Budget done together %	66.8	43.7	p<0.001
Discuss work with wife			
Regularly %	45.0	36.7	n.s.
Occasionally %	46.9	51.8	
Never %	8.1	11.5	
W.helps H.with work %	26.0	21.1	n.s.

Of all migrants married at the time of moving to Bristol, less than a sixth said their wives had objected to the move and among those intending to move in future very few wives raised objections to moving. However, almost 6 in 10 of both migrant husbands and wives said they missed someone from their previous residences and the proportions who missed close kin were fairly similar among husbands and wives.

There is clear evidence that because in most cases migration is motivated by the career of the husband and there is little attachment to the local community, a stronger bond between husband and wife ensues: the husband is more likely to assist his wife in household tasks, they are more likely to do things outside the home together and the wife will be more involved in the husbands' work than in the case of residents.

The foregoing is an attempt to characterize modern-day migratory moves. But one must still explain the situation of the non-movers which include the Bristol-born and those who have migrated to Bristol but have no plans for future migration.

2. Bristol-born Respondents

Among Bristol-born respondents 207 had no intention of leaving Bristol. It was postulated that these persons would be least likely to be 'career conscious', and/or be in careers not associated with migration (e.g. self-employment; manual jobs) or have strong compet-

tion from other attachments which inhibit migration.

Firstly, career aspects of this group will be studied and then kin and friendship ties as well as other aspects will be taken into consideration. All data given here will be found in Table VII.7. where this group is compared to others.

a) Career Aspects

The average age of this group: was 51.6 years with almost two-thirds being over 45 years of age. This means that they are unlikely to make further changes in their present careers. In fact, only slightly over two-thirds of these respondents were still in employment, a majority of the rest being retired. Among the 135 persons in employment, just over a tenth were women. Males who were working were highly concentrated in manual jobs, almost half being in this category. And this tended to influence their general attitude towards work, for when asked what they liked most about their present job or a possible future job, well over half mentioned instrumental benefits like good pay, reasonable hours and the like. Similarly, less than a quarter of working respondents thought they could get a better job in the future. And this group had the highest proportion of self-employed.

In general, then, one may conclude that the group had few of the characteristics associated with migration: their average age was fairly high, a large number had already retired, those working were highly concentrated in manual jobs and sought mainly instrumental benefits from the job, which would indicate that they were not very 'involved'. Few had prospects for better jobs in the future and a tenth were self-employed. But besides these career aspects, kin and friendship ties also influenced their immobility.

b) Kin and Friendship ties

Every one of this group said he had lived most of his life in Bristol. This is evidence that ties with the community were very strong. Average number of relatives seen in the month prior to interviews was 4.46, by far the highest average of all groups, with as many

as a fifth seeing nine and more relatives. On the other hand, this group was least likely to visit relatives living outside of Bristol.

However, although this group had the highest average of visitors to their home in the week preceding interviews and over a fifth had had nine and more visits, their average was not much higher than that of other groups. But their best friends were predominantly local, over 8 in 10 mentioning best friends among neighbours, in local associations and the like and a similar proportion saying they would turn to local sources in time of need. They also showed a high degree of identification with neighbours, two-thirds saying they belonged to the same social class as neighbours. However, they did not have a higher degree of inter-action between their friends than did the other groups i.e. the net-work of their friends was not more close-knit than that of other groups.

c) Other Aspects

A relatively small proportion of these respondents belonged to a local group--this is undoubtedly due to their high average age. So it would not appear that attachment to local groups influenced their immobility. On the other hand, this group had the highest proportion either owning their homes or living in Council houses (84.5%). The ease with which they may sell and re-buy a house today, should not deter migration directly, but one is less likely to buy a house unless one intends settling in one place for a fairly long time.

Both from the career and kinship-friendship aspect, these respondents appear to have very few characteristics generally associated with migration.

Before studying those persons who have come to settle in Bristol, a word must be said about non-migrants (both Bristol-born and others) who intend leaving Bristol one day. Firstly, this group is not typical of out-migrants from Bristol, since young adults usually form a large

Table VII.7.
ASPECTS OF IMMOBILITY

		Br. b.	Rec. Settl.	Early Settl.	Intend. Leavers
<u>A. CAREER</u>					
1. Age	Average	51.6	42.0	56.0	32.0
	% 65+	29.5	10.2	34.5	0.4
	% 45+	63.3	34.8	76.3	13.1
2. Employment Status	% employed	65.2	82.0	58.2	76.3 *
3. Type of job	% Career	38.9	61.8	50.0	66.4
	% Oth. Non-Manual	14.0	19.5	16.3	15.1
	% Manual	47.1	18.7	33.7	18.5
4. Attitude to Work	% Autonomy	9.4	9.8	10.0	9.4
	% Expressive	35.9	48.5	52.0	45.3
	% Instrumental	54.7	41.7	38.0	45.3
5. Self-employment	% self-empl.	13.3	10.2	12.6	8.3
6. Future prospects	% think they can get better job	24.8	35.1	16.0	62.2
<u>B. KIN AND FRIENDSHIP TIES</u>					
1. Lived most life	% Bristol	100.0	15.6	74.0	4.2
2. Relatives seen in month	Average	4.46	1.41	2.34	0.54
	% 9+	20.8	11.4	7.3	6.4
	% 5+	47.4	4.2	21.5	3.4
	% None	12.1	59.9	39.5	81.8
3. Rel. visited outside Br.	% visited	43.5	76.0	59.3	80.9
4. Visitors to home in week	Average	4.77	4.42	4.38	4.21
	% 9+	20.8	17.4	12.4	17.8
	% 5+	54.0	44.4	48.0	43.2
	% None	11.6	13.2	10.7	14.0
5. Best Friends	% Local	83.1	49.1	78.0	41.1
6. Borrow £5	% Local source	81.5	60.1	75.1	69.0
7. Interaction of Friends	% Fr. met each other	64.8	64.2	68.3	64.7
8. Identity with Neighbours	% Same class	65.7	58.1	66.1	39.8
<u>C. OTHER ASPECTS</u>					
1. Group Membership	% belonging	43.3	50.7	39.5	51.2
2. Home ownership	% owning	68.1	58.8	68.9	27.5
	% Council	16.4	0.6	7.3	2.1

* A further 21.1% were students

proportion of these. We have already pointed out, that since this survey interviewed only heads of households, the majority of Bristolians who are most likely to leave Bristol would not be covered. Hence, data given here about non-migrants who are leaving is not meant to be representative of out-migrants from the city.

Of the 86 persons who intended leaving Bristol, only a fifth gave work reasons. A large majority mentioned reasons connected with retirement and the family. The average age of this group was 47.1 years with 6 in 10 aged over 45 years. In the next part of this chapter we will discuss how these future migrants are influenced by life-cycle and career considerations.

3. Respondents Settling down in Bristol

Here we will study two groups of migrants to Bristol who have decided to settle since they have no future migration intentions. The first group have settled in Bristol over 10 years ago and will be referred to as the 'earlier settlers' while those of the second group have come in the last 10 years and will be referred to as 'recent settlers'. They will generally be compared to migrants who intend leaving Bristol, referred to as 'intending leavers'!(2)

a) Career Aspects

The average age of earlier settlers at the time of the survey was 56.0 years with more than three-quarters over 45 years of age. While the average age of recent settlers was considerably lower than this (42.0 years) it was still much higher than the average of intending leavers (32.0 years). While less than 6 in 10 earlier settlers were in employment, more than 8 in 10 recent settlers were employed. One may be tempted to ask why none of the latter wanted to migrate from Bristol, since so many were still in employment. Part of the reason for this must be because a majority had little prospect for future upward mobility: only 35.1% compared to 66.4% of intending leavers

(2) See Table VII.7. for all figures.

thought they could get a better job in the future. Ofcourse, among earlier settlers, very few (16.0%)thought they would be able to get a better future job.

Type of present job could also have influenced the decision on future migration. While 12.6% of earlier settlers were self-employed, this proportion was just over a tenth of recent settlers compared to 8.3% of intending leavers. Also, while just over a third of earlier male settlers were in manual jobs, the proportion was 18.7 for recent settlers -- a proportion almost identical to that of intending leavers. It would seem that present occupational status was not one of the important factors distinguishing recent settlers and intending leavers --we will return to this aspect in Part 2 of this chapter.

On the whole, however, those settling in Bristol were more likely than intending leavers, to be of higher average age, to have a lower estimate of future job prospects and slightly more likely to be self-employed.

b) Kin and Friendship ties.

Settlers tended more than intending leavers to associate the major parts of their lives with Bristol: almost three quarters of earlier settlers, just under a sixth of recent settlers compared to only 4.2% of intending leavers, said they had spent most of their lives in Bristol. Those settling, also tended to have more contacts with relatives in Bristol than intending leavers, averages being significantly higher among the former and 8 in 10 leavers saying they had not seen a relative in the month previous to interviews compared to only 4 in 10 earlier settlers and 6 in 10 recent settlers. However, the proportions of recent settlers and intending leavers who visited relatives outside of Bristol were fairly similar (over three-quarters each) but was only 6 in 10 among earlier settlers.

While intending leavers had the lowest average of visitors to

their homes in the week preceding interviews, this was not much lower than in other groups. But the proportion of leavers having local best friends was fairly low (41.1% compared to 78.0% among earlier settlers and 49.1% among recent settlers) although they appeared more likely than recent settlers to turn to local sources in time of need.

Just on two-thirds of earlier settlers felt they were in the same social class as neighbours and the proportion was considerably higher (58.1%) among recent settlers than among intending leavers (39.8%). No doubt, this lack of identity with neighbours has some importance in the decision to migrate again.

There is some evidence here, that those intending to leave again are less likely than settlers to associate the major parts of their lives with Bristol, to have relatives locally or consider their best friends to be among locals. They also show a markedly lower identification with neighbours, which would indicate that they are not very integrated in the local community.

c) Other Aspects

As was stated earlier, intending leavers did not tend to belong to fewer groups than settlers---group membership tended to be more a function of age than of migratory intentions. But considerably fewer of intending leavers owned their homes: just under 3 in 10 owned or were in Council houses, compared to over three quarters of earlier settlers and 6 in 10 recent settlers.

The above differences found between Bristolians who did not intend leaving, earlier and recent settlers and intending leavers, tended to indicate that migration was strongly related to life cycle and career pattern characteristics of individuals. The second part of this chapter is thus devoted to a study of the importance of these characteristics in the decision to migrate from Bristol in the future.

Part 2. Life Cycle, Career Pattern and Decision to Migrate

Since migration tends less and less to be a case of persons forced to move and since current migrations in industrial societies appear to be closely linked to types of careers taken up, a new approach to the study of internal migration is necessary. Such an approach has been attempted in several studies of urban residential mobility in the U.S.A. based mainly on life cycle and career pattern variables or a combination of these⁽³⁾. These approaches provided a basis for predicting future mobility with a high degree of accuracy. Though residential mobility and internal migration are not exactly the same, since the latter generally implies changing from one community to another as well as changing house, the factors which influence the two types of move are fairly similar. With slight modifications, the variables used in previous studies are used in this present study to see how they correlate with future migration intentions.

In the studies on residential mobility, life cycle variables included a) age of household head b) household size and c) tenure status. Career pattern variables included a) head of household's years of formal education b) respondents estimate of his social class position compared to that of his neighbours c) respondents estimate of his prospects for upward mobility d) respondents attitude towards his present dwelling and e) respondents attitude towards his present neighbourhood.

(3) See for example: Rossi, P.H. Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility, Glencoe, The free Press, 1955.

Jaco, E.G. and Belknap, I., "Is a new Family Form Emerging on the Urban Fringe?", American Sociological Review, 18, October 1953, pp. 551-557.

Bell, W. "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence", in William A. Drobiner, editor, The Suburban Community, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958, pp.147-164.

Leslie, G.R. and Richardson, A.H. "Life Cycle, Career Pattern and Decision to Move", American Sociological Review, 26(6), Dec. 1961, pp.894-902.

In the present study there were slight modifications. Life cycle variables included a) age of respondents b) marital status and years of marriage c) number of children under 15 in household d) opinion on size of present house and e) interest in home ownership schemes. Career pattern variables included a) terminal education age of respondents b) occupational status c) estimates of prospects for upward mobility d) estimate of social class position compared to that of neighbours and e) whether best friends were in the 'local' community or not.

Alloted scores for each variable are given in table VII.8. and it was hypothesized that the higher the score on life cycle and career pattern variables, the more likely a respondent would be to have future migration intentions. However, a brief description of the basis of certain life-cycle scores is necessary:

Age: On arrival in Bristol, two thirds of migrants were aged 21-35 with as many as 4 in 10 aged 21-25. Since this stage of the life cycle is highly correlated with migration, those who are at present in these age-groups would be most likely to consider future migration.

Marital Status: On arrival in Bristol about 44% of migrants were single (including 63 persons who have married since arriving) while a further 20% had been married in the past 10 years. Thus single persons and newly-weds form a large proportion of migrants.

Family size: Among married migrants 44.5% had no children and 25.6% had only one child. It was also necessary to give a score here to single persons, since their family size is even smaller than that of the married.

Housing: Over 7 in 10 who had better housing in Bristol expressed general satisfaction, so it was hypothesized that those concerned about housing, either because they needed better housing or were contemplating buying a house, would also be more likely than others to want to move.

Previous chapters have underlined the strong relationship between migration and the career, so it was not thought necessary to go into the

Table VII.8.

LIFE CYCLE AND CAREER PATTERN SCORES

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Alloted</u> <u>Scores.</u>	<u>A c t u a l S c o r e s</u> <u>a n d A v e r a g e s .</u>				<u>Ratio of</u> <u>Averages</u>
		<u>Leaving</u>		<u>Staying</u>		<u>L/S</u>
		<u>N</u>	<u>Av.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Av.</u>	
<u>Life Cycle</u>		(236)		(189)		
1. <u>Age</u>						
21-25	2	98		24		
26-35	1	65		54		
36+	0	73	<u>1.106</u>	111	<u>0.540</u>	<u>2.048</u>
2. <u>Marital Status</u>						
Single	2	89		35		
Married -10 yrs.	1	85		60		
Married +10 yrs.+others	0	62	<u>1.114</u>	94	<u>0.688</u>	<u>1.619</u>
3. <u>Household size</u>						
Single	2	89		35		
0 or 1 child	1	101		93		
all other	0	46	<u>1.182</u>	61	<u>0.862</u>	<u>1.371</u>
4. <u>House expansion</u>						
Need more rooms	1	32		21		
Don't need more	0	204	<u>0.136</u>	168	<u>0.111</u>	<u>1.225</u>
5. <u>Fut.Hm.ownership</u>						
Consid.Hsing.Socs.	1	27		24		
Would not consider	0	209	<u>0.114</u>	165	<u>0.127</u>	<u>0.898</u>
<u>Career Pattern</u>						
1. <u>Term. Education Age.</u>						
+ 18 yrs.	2	131		58		
16-18	1	68		74		
15+less	0	37	<u>1.398</u>	57	<u>1.005</u>	<u>1.391</u>
2. <u>Occupational Status</u>						
Career jobs	3	140		87		
N-Man.+working females	2	55		41		
Manual	1	27		25		
No working	0	14	<u>2.360</u>	36	<u>1.947</u>	<u>1.212</u>
3. <u>Upward mobility prospect</u>						
Yes	1	107		53		
No	0	129	<u>0.453</u>	136	<u>0.280</u>	<u>1.618</u>
4. <u>Soc.Cl.diff.Neighbours</u>						
Yes	1	113		67		
No	0	123	<u>0.479</u>	122	<u>0.354</u>	<u>1.353</u>
5. <u>Non-local best friends</u>						
Yes	1	136		91		
No	0	100	<u>0.576</u>	98	<u>0.481</u>	<u>1.198</u>

justification for career pattern scores here.

Correlations between life cycle and career pattern scores and future migration intentions were made for both migrants and non-migrants. However, because of the sampling procedure used, few non-migrants were in the younger age-groups. As was stated in Chapter II, for a young non-migrant to have been selected for interview, he would have had to leave his original household and settle elsewhere in the city. Thus, while over half of migrants had future migration intentions, less than a fifth of non-migrants intended leaving and a majority of these were not moving for reasons related to the career but for retirement: a quarter gave this as a reason for wanting to leave while a further fifth wanted to go to a place with a better climate. Results given here concerning non-migrants should thus be treated with the necessary reserve.

The combination of life cycle and career pattern scores tended to be highly correlated with future migration intentions. For instance, among migrants with a score of 3 or less, only 15% had future migration intentions, while over three quarters of those with a score over 10 intended leaving. Similar results were found among non-migrants: only 1 of the 39 persons scoring zero wanted to migrate while over a quarter scoring more than 7 had future migration intentions.

The type of correlation used in this study is called "bi-serial correlation", a method used when one variable does not permit of measurement in units and the other variable yields scores in the usual way⁽⁴⁾. Both for migrants and non-migrants the correlations between scores and future migration intentions were found to be very highly significant, though the coefficient was higher and the standard error lower for migrants. There is no doubt that migration is highly correlated with life cycle and career pattern variables.

(4) See: Guilford, J.P. Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education, Mc Graw Hill, 1965, p.317.

A further test was made to see how migration intentions were related to the two groups of variables separately. For migrants,

Table VII.9.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SCORES AND MIGRATION INTENTIONS

Score	<u>M i g r a n t s</u>		<u>R e s i d e n t s</u>	
	All Resp.	Proportion leaving Br. %	All Resp.	Proportion leaving Br. %
0	1		39	2.6
1-3	40	15.0	179	11.2
4-6	125	44.8	192	23.4
7-9	103	51.4	67	23.9
10-12	127	78.0	9	44.4
13-15	29	75.9	-	
TOTAL	425		486	

Correlation coeff.	0.465 +++	0.290 +++
Standard error	0.051	0.063

Life cycle only

Correlation coeff.	0.388 +++	0.074 n.s.
Standard error	0.054	0.067

Career Pattern only

Correlation coeff.	0.399 +++	0.348 +++
Standard error	0.053	0.061

both life cycle and career pattern scores correlated highly with future migration intentions. For non-migrants however, while career pattern variables were highly correlated there was no significant correlation between life cycle scores and future migration. This could be partly due to the small number among non-migrants who had future migration intentions but also due to the fact that they were not typical of out-migrants from Bristol.

In a previous study of residential mobility, which for brevity will be referred to here as the VINTON HOMES STUDY, carried out by Leslie and Richardson (see footnote reference p.167), it was found that career pattern variables were more highly correlated with residential mobility than life cycle ones. This prompted the authors

to explore the link between career pattern and residential mobility still further. However, the authors pointed out that the lesser importance of life cycle variables in their study was probably due to the homogeneity of their sample: only 7 of 201 respondents were aged over 50; there were no one-person households and only 18 didn't own their homes.

In the present study, an attempt was made to see how individual variables influenced future migration intentions. This section was limited to migrants only, for reasons mentioned above. Average scores were calculated on each variable for those who intended leaving Bristol and for those who did not. For each variable the ratio of average scores of intending leavers to those of respondents who did not intend leaving, was obtained. On this basis, the order of importance of variables associated with future migration was: age (where those leaving had an average score which was 2.048 times larger than those staying--see table VII.8.), marital status, prospects for upward mobility, terminal education age, family size, attitude to neighbours, opinion on size of present dwelling, occupational status, best friends and interest in home ownership schemes. In all but the last-mentioned variable, those who intended leaving scored higher.

We have already seen that the only differential which has been found consistently in several studies of internal migration is the age differential, so it is not surprising to find here, that age had the most important influence on future migration intentions. Migrations are also high among single persons and the newly-wed. So it would appear that in migration, variables related to the life cycle do play an important part and the lack of importance of these variables in the Vinton Homes Study of residential mobility must be due in part to the difference in sampling. But these authors also found a strong correlation between prospects for upward mobility and future

residential mobility⁽⁵⁾. Based on these findings the authors then constructed a model for the explanation of voluntary residential mobility. This model is used in the present study for future migration intentions. The following table gives the results and the discussion which follows shows how well the observed frequencies fit the model. The model is an attempt to see how future moving intentions are related to stage of the life cycle and upward mobility potential. Expansion or Non-Expansion stage of the life cycle was determined by whether respondents had scored over 3 or not, since average score on life-cycle variables for all migrants was 3.06.

STAGE OF LIFE CYCLE	UPWARD MOBILITY POTENTIAL			NO UPWARD MOBILITY POTENTIAL			GRAND TOTAL
	MOVE	STAY	TOTAL	MOVE	STAY	TOTAL	
EXPANSION	cell 1	cell 2		cell 5	cell 6		
%	(51) 74.0	(18) 26.0	(69) 100.0	(78) 72.2	(30) 27.8	(108) 100.0	177
NON-EXPANSION	cell 3	cell 4		cell 7	cell 8		
%	(56) 61.5	(35) 38.5	(91) 100.0	(51) 32.5	(106) 67.5	(157) 100.0	248
TOTAL	(107)	(53)	(160)	(129)	(136)	(265)	425
%	67.0	33.0	100.0	48.6	51.4	100.0	

The authors of the Vinton Homes study expected that moving intentions would be high among those who were in the expanding stage of the life cycle and had upward mobility potential i.e. there would be considerably more cases in cell 1 than in cell 2. In the present study, of the 69 persons who fell into this group, 74.0% had future migration intentions. Among those in the non-expansion stage, the authors still expected a fair amount of mobility among those having upward mobility potential but not as much as among those in the expanding stage of the life cycle. Of the 91 persons in this group well over half (61.5%) had future migration intentions, the proportion not being as high as among those in the expansion stage of the life cycle.

(5) op. cit. p.899

Among those having no upward mobility potential but being in the expanding stage of the life cycle, there would still be a fair amount of moves: in fact, in the present study, the proportion was almost as high as in cell 1 (72.2%). It will be remembered that the Vinton Homes Study did not find life cycle variables to be very important, while in this study both age and marital status were highly related to future moves. The authors of that study admitted that their sample was highly concentrated among married couples in a fairly limited age-group. In this study, however, there were a number of students. Because they were not in work, they could not be asked if they expected to get a better job in the future, so could not, therefore, score on upward mobility potential. The majority however, do have future migration intentions and this accounts for cell 5 being as large as it is: of the 78 persons in that cell, 60% were students.

It was predicted that those in cell 6 would include several persons, who although needing better housing couldn't afford to move: of the 30 persons in this cell here, 11 mentioned the need for more rooms or an interest in housing societies.

Proportionally few persons who were neither in the expansion stage of the life cycle nor had upward mobility potential, would be expected to move in future. Of the 157 persons in this group, under a third (32.5%) had future migration intentions. According to the authors of the model, those who did want to move, would probably be involuntary movers: caused by demolitions, evictions, fires etc. However, in the present study, it was not ascertained whether respondents felt they were forced to move out of Bristol, so this cannot be verified. But the authors rightly predicted that cell 8 would probably contain the highest number of cases.

The above approach has afforded a theoretical framework for the study of internal migrations in modern industrial societies.

It indicates that migration in these societies is closely linked to life-cycle and career pattern variables and in this respect differs considerably from the rural to urban movement of masses of unskilled persons which is taking place in underdeveloped countries today⁽⁶⁾ and which probably took place at the time of the industrial revolution⁽⁷⁾. That is why it is unlikely that one-way drifts of the population are characteristic in modern industrial societies and that the emphasis placed on these by several authors has been mainly due to a lack of suitable data on gross migration streams.

CONCLUSION

The object of this chapter has been to test from the survey data a number of hypotheses set out in Chapter II. The data, in the main appear to support the hypotheses that migratory moves are less a function of force than of the types of careers taken up by individuals. Migrants into Bristol were largely representative of career type jobs, they tended more than residents to seek expressive benefits from the work situation, they were more likely than residents to be upwardly mobile, each advantage gained from migratory moves was seen in relative terms: relative to past, but also to possible future advantages, since a large proportion who were satisfied with the move to Bristol intended leaving again, they had limited attachment to the local community and were more likely than residents to share interests with their wives.

Among the Bristol born who never moved, a majority had characteristics not associated with migration: they had a high average age, a number were already retired while those in the labour force were mainly in manual jobs and few had prospects for better or better jobs in the future. On the other hand, they had many

(6) In a M.A. thesis by the present author on the Republic of the Cameroons, it was found that in 25 years, while the total population of the country increased 1 1/2 times, that of cities increased 4 1/2 times, but that 90% of the populations of the two largest cities, Yaounde and Douala, had absolutely no professional qualification whatever and that in 1959, 17% of the population of Douala were jobless.

(7) see for example: Newton and Jefferey, op. cit.

relatives locally, they were least likely to visit relatives living outside of Bristol, their best friends were predominantly local and they showed a high degree of identification with neighbours. Over 8 in 10 either owned their homes or lived in Council Houses.

Among those who had migrated to Bristol and then decided to settle there, average age was much higher than among those who had future migration intentions, although a high proportion of settlers were still in employment relatively few had prospects for a better future job and a higher proportion of settlers than future migrants were self-employed. More settlers than intending migrants said they had lived most of their lives in Bristol and they appeared to have more relatives locally as well. They also appeared to have more local best friends and showed a higher degree of identification with neighbours. Finally, a much larger proportion of settlers than those intending to leave owned their homes in Bristol.

The second part of this chapter studied the relationship between life cycle and career pattern variables and the decision to migrate in future. The correlation was a very strong one: the higher the score on these variables the more likely a respondent was to have future migration intentions. Among life-cycle variables age and marital status appeared to be the most closely related to future migration intentions while among career pattern variables prospects for a better job and terminal education age were highly related.

In applying the 425 migrants' scores on life cycle and upward mobility potential to a model of residential mobility, it was found that actual results were in the predicted direction.

In conclusion, migrations today appear to be highly related to life cycle and career pattern variables.

Chapter VIII

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Previous knowledge of internal migration

When this study first started little was known in Britain about internal migration either from a demographic or from an economic point of view and least of all from a sociological point of view. Because of a lack of suitable data on the problem vague assumptions were made about drifts of the population. But these assumptions were based mainly on rather dubious statistics: net migration figures were obtained after approximate estimates of births ^{and deaths} in a given period had been taken into account--the resulting 'residue' of population was attributed to net migration. However, net migration is of little value in indicating drifts of population unless gross streams are also known.

Another important source of data on migrations was the use of birthplace--census place data. This source was an important improvement on that of the residue method for it gave some indication of gross in and out movements. But it was also subject to a number of limitations. It simply plotted the direction of moves between birthplace and census place ignoring moves made between these. It excluded from the total numbers of migrants, all those born outside the area of study as well as migrants who had returned to their birthplaces.

Because of this lack of suitable data on migration, before the principal results of the first census in Britain to include a question on migration were published, this present study had to have a very broad basis. In order to make generalizations about social aspects of migrations, the main theme of the study, it was also necessary to probe more deeply into demographic and economic aspects. The questionnaire thus covered many questions concerning the demographic aspect: household size, numbers of independent and dependent previous moves, distances of moves, birthplace data and opinions on future moves as well as the economic aspect: employment status, use of

employment exchange, economic advantages and disadvantages of the move, earnings, prices and standard of living.

Another major problem faced at the outset was that of finding internal migrants to interview despite the lack of a list of newcomers to the city. The system finally devised is by no means considered the best one and incorporates several disadvantages, especially since few of the potential out-migrants from the city were covered. It also meant including a number of students who are a special migratory group. However, the sample of migrants and non-migrants was large enough to overcome many of these difficulties when comparisons between the two groups had to be made.

Despite these problems, the main aims of the study have been achieved by resorting to the use of data from the census and the results of the survey in Bristol.

The Principle Findings

Chapter III was devoted to a study of current trends of migration, the limitations of available data before the census questions on migration and to migratory backgrounds.

In comparing current moves to those at the end of the last century, when Ravenstein presented his famous 'Laws of Migration', it was seen that distance as a barrier to migration was on the decline. This was mainly attributed to the fact that modern means of communication had meant that contacts between relatives and friends could be kept up despite geographical distance. The pattern of modern-day migrations no longer tended to be one of progressive absorptions and dispersions but tended in many urban centres to be an attraction to the heart of the cities of long distance migrants while city dwellers spilled over into the surrounding suburbs: a move which would permit them to improve housing and environment while working in the central cities. One way movements of the population were seen to be the exception rather than the rule: each main current of migration appeared to be accompanied by

a substantial counter-current.

Because the country had become so urbanized, it appeared that longest distance moves were no longer made by those heading for the cities but by those moving out of them and those moving between rural areas. Those at retirement age appeared to move longer distances than young migrants who were presumably living in or near industrial centres when looking for first jobs or changing jobs. Those at retirement age had to move long distances out of industrial areas to retirement places of which the sea-coasts appeared to be the most popular. Rates of migration appeared to be higher among urban natives than among rurals. However, lack of sufficient data did not permit a complete test of Ravensteins hypothesis that natives of towns were less migratory than rural natives. Finally, little difference was found in sex-ratios of migrants but females in the labour force tended to be more migratory than males.

One of the main themes of this study has been that the majority of migratory moves in modern industrial societies are not forced moves, that the push element in migration is considerably less than it was at the time of the industrial revolution and as it is in many under-developed countries today. Census data revealed that the rural to urban moves were a small proportion of the total and that the largest proportion of moves taking place, between urban centres, were composed of persons of very similar characteristics. This was confirmed when respondents in the survey were asked if they felt they had to move. Only a third replied affirmatively and it appeared that the more rural their previous residence was, the more likely they would be to say that they were forced. Migration in modern industrial societies appears to be taking place on an 'exchange' basis, persons with similar characteristics 'exchanging' between centres. This might at first appear as a waste of manpower and abilities. But with each move the individual usually gains some advantage and his 'personal' approach

to a problem undoubtedly adds something fresh to a given situation.

The second part of Chapter III put into question the use of birthplace data for studies of migration. Fewer persons than expected, had lived for most of their lives at birthplaces and few looked upon birthplace as "home". Several moves had been made by individuals between their birthplaces and the survey area. Directions of last migratory moves and of moves which would have been obtained by using birthplace data, differed considerably. Also, large proportions of persons born abroad and returnees, had been considerably mobile within the country, but would have been ignored in the migratory moves based only on birthplace data.

Significant relationships were found between migration of respondents and that of their parents and between age at which first moves were made and number of subsequent moves made. The importance of the family in the socialization of the child is clearly indicated here. Finally, Chapter III showed that latent social roles of cosmopolitanism and localism were closely related to migratory moves. Not only were there clear distinctions between migrants and all non-migrants on these latent roles but even among non-migrants, those who had moved at all during their lives appeared to be more cosmopolitan in outlook than those who had never moved.

The next chapter aimed principally at finding the characteristics which distinguished migrants and residents. A control was made for age, sex, marital and employment status. In comparing these 'matched' respondents it was seen that migrants had had a very much better education, almost a fifth more than residents leaving school after age 18. They also appeared to come from more educated backgrounds and over a tenth more migrants than residents had University degrees and similar differences favouring migrants were found as far as G.C.E. 'A' and 'O' levels were concerned.

Migrants were of very significantly higher social class than

residents, both when comparing all respondents on the Registrar General's scale and when comparing males only on the Hall-Jones scale. And they appeared to be aware of their higher social status, a fifth more than residents saying they were in the professional class and under a fifth less considering themselves to be working class. Migrants occupations also tended to be highly concentrated in a few groups, the Professional group accounting for over a third while the highest proportion of residents in a single group was only 15.6% (Clerical). Though a very significantly larger proportion of migrants were monthly paid, overall they did not appear to earn significantly more than residents. However, while migrants earnings tended to increase with age those of residents tended to drop in the higher age-groups.

Though residents tended, in general, to be better off as far as housing and amenities were concerned once the two groups were matched on basic characteristics, few significant differences between groups remained.

The conclusion to this chapter noted that even within the survey area there was a certain amount of residential segregation between migrants and residents, based mainly on social class differences.

Chapter V was devoted to a study of satisfaction gained by the move to Bristol. Satisfaction appeared to be highest among those who found it easier to make friends in Bristol than elsewhere and among those who felt they had a better job in Bristol. Previous residence also tended to influence satisfaction: the least satisfied were ex-Londoners and those coming from abroad while the most satisfied were those coming to Bristol from very small centres and from centres similar in size to Bristol.

When asked about economic advantages and disadvantages of the move to Bristol, a higher proportion mentioned intrinsic advantages like better work mates, better working conditions and interesting work

than the proportion who mentioned earning more money. And among those earning less in Bristol than in their pre-Bristol job, only 2 of the 22 persons were dissatisfied with the move to Bristol. More persons mentioned worse working conditions as a disadvantage of the Bristol job than the proportion who mentioned lower earnings.

Those who earned more in Bristol and those who had a higher standard of living did not appear to be more satisfied with the move to Bristol than those who experienced no change. Though economic factors are important considerations in the decision to move, many other factors also appear to be taken into account.

When attempting to see how the importance attached to work and attitude to present job affected non-work activities, it appeared that those moving for work reasons were more likely than others to find work interesting. Those who did not find their work interesting did not appear to participate in more home and social activities and thus expressed the lowest degree of satisfaction with Bristol and were more likely than others to plan to move off again.

In studying inter- and intra- generational mobility it was seen that migrants were more likely than residents to come from a high status background, that more migrants than residents were in higher status jobs than their fathers and also that migrants had moved up considerably more classes from their fathers' status than upwardly mobile residents. Inter-generational changes in status tended to affect contact with kin. Those who had changed status tended less than those who had not changed, to visit relatives. Also, those who had achieved higher social status than their fathers appeared to visit relatives less than those who had suffered a loss of status.

Between first and present occupations, migrants in the age-group 36-50 were much more upwardly mobile than residents, while there was little difference in the lower or higher age groups. The actual migratory move to Bristol, however, was accompanied by few changes

of status, over three quarters of migrants retaining the same status. This would tend to indicate that changes in status take place first and that migration follows on this.

The second part of Chapter VI showed that there were strong relationships between social mobility and community of orientation of respondents. Those from large communities of orientation achieved much higher social status while working class ~~persons~~ and those whose first jobs were manual, were more likely to reach high status if their community of orientation was a large city. However, migrants, irrespective of their community of orientation did not appear to be disadvantaged in achieving high status compared to those who had lived most of their lives in a large metropolis (Bristol). A possible explanation for this situation is that those persons who had spent most of their lives in the large metropolis and who had achieved high status, were the most likely ones to have migrated elsewhere and are forming the in-coming elites of other large cities.

3. The Hypotheses set out

The first hypothesis set out was that migration in modern industrial societies is less a function of 'forced' moves than a function of the type of careers taken up and the importance attached to the career. The majority of postulates set out to support this hypothesis proved to be correct in this present study.

A majority of migratory moves were motivated by job changes but relatively few migrants felt that they had been forced to move. Migrants were less likely to seek merely instrumental advantages from present and possible future jobs but did not find their present jobs more interesting than did residents. Rates of migration were found to be three times higher among Professionals than among semi-skilled and unskilled workers. More than a quarter more migrants than residents were found in career jobs, even when a control for age was made.

Despite the fact that migrants came from higher status backgrounds a still significantly higher proportion than residents were upwardly mobile compared to their fathers. And in their own generation migrants in the age group 35-50 were significantly more upwardly mobile between first and present jobs compared to residents.

Degree of satisfaction tended to be seen by the migrant in relative rather than in absolute terms for a high proportion of those who were satisfied in several ways with the move to Bristol, did not intend settling there. The advantages gained were considered relatively to previous advantages but also to possible future advantages.

Knowledge about a place before the move is made appeared to be of little importance to the migrant and consequently few migrants had best friends among locals: a majority said best friends were either work-mates or persons known in previous residences.

Because of this lack of identification with the local community, married migrants appeared to have a closer knit net-work of conjugal roles: they helped wives more about the home and made visits more often together, than did married residents. Wives of migrants tended to display a greater interest in the husband's work and seldom raised objections to repeated moves. However, fairly large proportions of both migrants husbands and wives said they missed friends and neighbours from previous residences.

The second hypothesis set out concerned Bristolians who had no intention of moving in future. We postulated a lack of career consciousness, career mobility not associated with migration and /or strong competition from other attachments which inhibit migration.

The average age of this group was fairly high, a large proportion had already retired, among those working over a tenth were self-employed, almost half were in manual jobs and sought mainly instrumental benefits from the job and few had prospects for better jobs

in the future.

All of these had lived most of their lives in Bristol, they had more contact with relatives than any other group and were least likely to visit relatives living outside of Bristol. Their best friends were predominantly local and a large majority believed they belonged to the same social class as neighbours. But they did not belong to significantly more local groups than did others: group membership tended to be more a function of age than of 'localism'. However, over 8 in 10 either owned their homes or lived in Council Houses.

The last principal hypotheses concerned those who have come from elsewhere to settle in Bristol. It was hypothesized that these persons would either have reached the peak of their careers or that their moves to Bristol were not primarily motivated by career reasons or that they had made strong attachments in Bristol which competed with migration.

The average age of all who had settled in Bristol was considerably higher than that of those who intended leaving. While only 6 in 10 earlier settlers were in employment 8 in 10 recent settlers (less than 10 years residence) were still employed. But among all settlers, prospects for better jobs in the future were considerably lower than among those who intended leaving. Over a tenth of each group of settlers were self-employed. But there were no differences between recent settlers and those leaving as far as proportions in manual jobs were concerned.

Proportionally more settlers than leavers tended to associate the major parts of their lives with Bristol. They also tended to have many more contacts with relatives and were also more likely to have local best friends. Identification with neighbours was higher among settlers than leavers. While there was little difference between settlers and leavers in group membership, almost twice as many of the former owned their homes or lived in Council Houses.

The above relationship between migration and other variables tended to show that migration was closely linked to career pattern and life cycle variables. Based on scores allotted to these variables, a bi-serial correlation showed that the relationship between scores and future migration intentions was a very high one: the higher the score obtained the more likely respondents were to have future migration intentions.

A model, based on a study of residential mobility, was then used for predicting future migration intentions from data of upward mobility potential and life cycle variables. Future migration intentions was found to be highest among those in the expanding stage of the life cycle who had upward mobility potential but was equally high among those in the expanding stage without upward mobility potential, due mainly to the high proportion of students in this group. The largest number of the 425 migrants studied was found among those who were in the non-expanding stage of the life cycle and had no upward mobility potential: 106 respondents had no future migration intentions.

Results found in this survey thus indicated that in modern industrial societies migration is closely linked to life cycle and career pattern variables and in this respect differs from the rural to urban movement of the past and which is taking place in underdeveloped countries today.

4. Further Study

This exploratory study has raised several questions and indicates that particular studies in more depth are needed. Some of these include: the possibility that this 'exchange' of persons between centres is a waste to the nation as a whole while being beneficial to the individual mover; the importance of the growing numbers of moves from central cities to suburbs; the possible role strain experienced by the migrant and all who depend on him (wives, children etc.) when moves are made;

a study of migratory students as a special group and a more representative study of out-migrants from a given city, which was not possible in the present study because of sampling limitations.

Although not included in the thesis, this study also includes two further chapters on the effect of migration on conjugal roles and the role of relatives and friends in encouraging or discouraging migration. These will be included in the complete report.

A P P E N D I C E S

QUESTIONNAIRE ON INTERNAL MIGRATION

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

"Will you please give me the following information about yourself and, if married, your wife/husband?"

- (a) Marital Status
- (b) Sex
- (c) Place of Birth
- (d) Age

"Now, will you tell me how many other males and females 15 years and over are in this household please?"

"How many persons (M & F) under 15 years are in this household?"

MIGRANTS ONLY

"How many persons (M & F) excluding yourself, 15 years and over moved to Bristol with you ?"

"How many persons (M & F) under 15 years moved to Bristol with you?"

1. MIGRATION HISTORY

EVERYBODY

1. Where have you lived for most of your life?
2. How many different addresses have you lived at in Bristol, including this one?
3. Can you tell me (1) Where you have lived since birth?
(2) Length of stay in each place?
(3) Main reason for each move?

MIGRANTS ONLY (Q.4 to Q.12)

4. Is there any place other than Bristol which you feel is really 'home' for you? (If Yes) Which place? Why?
5. Did you know Bristol very well (VW), fairly well (FW) or not at all (NO) before coming to live here?
6. How does Bristol compare with the place you lived just previously? What are the: Advantages, Disadvantages, Considering these, would you say that Bristol is: Much better, A little better, The same, A little worse, Much worse, Don't know.
7. Would you encourage relatives to come to live in Bristol?
Yes - Why? No - Why?
Would you encourage friends to come to live in Bristol?
Yes - Why? No - Why?
8. Through your encouragement have relatives come to live in Bristol?
(If Yes) Where did they come from?
Through your encouragement have friends come to live in Bristol?
(If Yes) Where did they come from?

9. Is it easier (EAS), about the same (SAM) or more difficult (DIF) to make friends in Bristol than it was in the places you've lived before?

10. Can you state in order of importance your 3 main reasons for coming to Bristol? (mark 1st, 2nd, 3rd,)

11. Would you say that certain conditions forced you to move out of your former place? (If Yes) What was the main condition?

12. Compared to the place you were living just before moving to Bristol, are your present housing conditions: Better, Worse, Same.

2. JOB HISTORY

EVERYBODY

13. Are you at present employed (EMP) or unemployed (UN)?
(If employed) Full-time (FT) or Part-time (PT)?
(If unemployed) Are you seeking work? (If No) Why not?

14. Have you been unemployed at all during the past 12 months?
(If Yes) How many weeks?

15. Can you tell me: (1) Your present occupation (or last, if retired or out of work) (2) Your first occupation (3) Your occupation 5 years ago.

Will you give me the following information about each of these:
Are (were) you self-employed. If Yes (How many employees do(did) you have?) If No: Do(did) you hold a position: Manager? Foreman? Supervisor? Other? None?

16. What was your father's principal occupation when he was approximately your age (or just before death if he died before attaining your present age)? Was he self-employed? (If Yes) How many employees did he have? (If No) Did he hold any position?: Manager, Foreman, Supervisor, Other, None.

MIGRANTS (who are working) ONLY (Q.17-21)

17. Was your job (a) assured before you arrived in Bristol?
(b) found after some time
if found.....after how many weeks?

IF (b)

Did you try to get a job through an employment exchange?
(If No) Why not?

18. How does your present job compare with the last job you had in your former place? What are the: Advantages, Disadvantages. Considering these, would you say that your present job is: Much better, A little better, The same, A little worse, Much worse.

19. Compared to your previous place, when you moved to Bristol, did you earn: more (MO), same (SA), or less (LS)?

20. Would you say that the following were dearer, the same or cheaper in Bristol than in the place you lived just previously?
Housing (rents) Foodstuffs, Clothing(+ shoes), Transport(busfares)

21. Compared to your previous place and considering changes in prices and any change in your salary, did you find that when you

moved to Bristol your standard of living was higher (HR), the same (SA) or lower (LR)?

EVERYBODY (working at present)

22. Do you think that there are other jobs you could get where you would be better off than in your present job? If Yes What are the two most important things you seek in another job? If No In what ways do you find your present job satisfying? What are the two most important factors.

23. Do you consider your work to be:

1. A mere means of earning a livelihood but holding very little personal interest for you (LVH)
2. Just as interesting as the things you do at home and during your sparetime? (HOM)
3. Much more interesting than anything else you do? (INT)

EVERYBODY (workers and non-workers)

24. Do you have any children at school? If Yes (Q.25 - Q.27)

25. Up to what age do you think your children will attend full-time education?

26. Which school(s) do(es) your 2 eldest child(ren) attend?
Do you know what type(s) of school(s) this/these is/are?
(Comprehensive, Grammar, Primary etc.)

27. Are you satisfied with this/these schools? If No Would you be prepared to move to another part of the country because of unsatisfactory schooling conditions in Bristol? If Yes Where? Place:

3. NEIGHBOURHOOD AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

EVERYBODY

28. Were your parents born in the same place as you? If No Where was your father born? Where was your mother born?

29. What relatives have you in Bristol that you have seen in the last month? (Kin related to respondent, even if in same building, but not those resident in household).

30. Do you visit close relatives outside of Bristol? (If Yes) Where does the relative you visit most frequently live?

31. Do you have friends (people you chat to often) among the following?

1. Neighbours
2. Work-mates (or husband's/wife's workmates)
3. People in associations (clubs, churches etc.)
4. People met at local pub
5. People met at local shops, schoolgate, laundrette
6. People recommended to you by relatives/friends

MIGRANTS ONLY

7. People who moved here about the same time as you
8. People you knew from previous residences
9. ANY OTHER TYPE OF FRIEND
0. No friends at all

32. Which of the above are your three best friends?

33. Have friends in one of the above groups met friends in another?
(If Yes) Did you introduce them (INT) or did they know each other before?

MARRIED PERSONS ONLY

34. Has your wife/husband met all (ALL), some (SOM) or none (NON) of the above-mentioned friends?

EVERYBODY

35. How many people would you say have visited your home in the last week (visitors to anyone in the household)?

36. How many homes would you say you have visited yourself in the last week?

37. Do you have get-togethers regularly (REG), occasionally (OCC) or never (NEV) with friends in their or your homes?

38. If, because of an emergency or illness, you were forced to borrow, say £5, who would you ask to help you?

39. It is commonly said that 'English people keep themselves to themselves and do not usually accept strangers for a long time.' Do you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree (D) or strongly disagree (SD)?

40. Do you have friends among immigrants? (If Yes) Which country does your closest immigrant friend come from?

41. Do you think that the government should restrict immigration further - that it should stop so many people from other countries from coming to live in Britain?

42. Do you belong to any groups in Bristol? (all belonging to a group) Do you hold any of the following offices? Secretary, Chairman-President, Treasurer, Other, None.

43. Do you think you belong to one of the following classes? Poor, Working, Lower Middle, Upper Middle, Professional, Upper.

44. Do most people in this neighbourhood belong to the same class as you? (If No) To which class(es) do they belong?

45. At what age did you finish (or will you finish, if still studying) full-time education?

46. At what age did your father finish full-time education?

47. Do you hold any of the following certificates?
University Degree, Dip.Technology/Humanities, Teacher's Training Certificate, Arts Science, G.C.E. 'A' Level (.....subjects)
General Schools Certificate, G.C.E. 'O' Level (.....subjects)
Other (specify)....., Still studying, None.

4. CONJUGAL ROLES: Husbands or Wives only

EVERYBODY

48. In what year were you married?
49. Where did you live at the beginning of your marriage?
50. Where were you living and where was your wife/husband living just before your marriage?
51. Do you help your wife with any of the following, regularly (REG), occasionally (OCC) or never (NEV)? Cooking, Laying table, Washing up, Cleaning house, Shopping, Laundry, Minding children, ANY OTHER.
52. Do you do any of the following about the house regularly (REG), occasionally (OCC) or never (NEV)? Repair jobs, Decorating, Gardening, ANY OTHER.
53. In general do you go with your wife (TOgether) or alone (ALN) to: Visit relatives, Visit friends, Parties, Cinemas, Conferences, Pub, Holidays, ANY OTHER.
54. Do you plan your family budget alone (ALN), with your wife (TOG) or do you give her a fixed sum letting her decide on how to spend it (WF)?
55. Do you discuss your work with your wife? Regularly?
Occasionally? Never?
56. Does your wife help you in any way with your work? (e.g. typing)
57. If your wife were not held down by household duties, do you think she would like a paid job of her own? (If Yes) Is this job wanted very much (VM), are you indifferent (IND) or is it absolutely necessary (NEC) for economic or other reasons, without liking it very much?

MIGRANT husbands and wives ONLY (Q.58-61)

58. Was the decision to move to Bristol discussed between you?
59. Did either of you raise any objections to moving? (If Yes) Which objection was most important?
60. Are you satisfied and is your wife/husband satisfied now that you have moved to Bristol? (If No) What is the main reason for dissatisfaction?
61. Who do you and your wife/husband miss most from your previous place.

5. FUTURE MIGRATION PLANS

EVERYBODY

62. Do you intend leaving Bristol one day? (If Yes --- Q.63-66)
63. What is your main reason for wanting to leave,

64. When do you hope to go?

65. Where do you hope to go?

66. Has your wife/husband raised any objections to moving?

(If Yes) Which is the most important objection?

(If No) to Q.62: Q.67-69)

67. What is your main reason for wanting to remain in Bristol?

All working only

68. If, for some reason you lost your job here in Bristol, would you rather remain here without a job, or would you try to get one elsewhere? (If STAY) Why?

69. Do you intend moving to another part of Bristol? (If Yes)

Where (Ward)?

EVERYBODY

70. Where would you like to spend your retirement (name a specific place please)?

71. Would you like to emigrate to another country? (If Yes) Which country? Why? Have you taken any definite steps about emigrating? (If steps have been taken) In how many months do you hope to leave? Do you have relatives or friends in that country?

6. HOUSING CONDITIONS

EVERYBODY

72. Do you occupy: a whole house (WH), independent flat (IF), shared flat (SF) or other (OT)?

73. Is your dwelling: owned by you (OWN), by the Council (CN), by a housing association (HA), under controlled rent (CR), uncontrolled rent (UR), rent free (RF) or other (OT).

74. How many living rooms (not bedrooms) do you have?

75. How many bedrooms do you have?

76. Do you have a separate kitchen?

77. Are your habitable rooms adequate for your family? (If No) How many more rooms do you need?

78. Which of the following do you have the use of? Cold water, hot water, W.C., bath, radio, television, washing machine, refrigerator, motor car, none.

Rented Accommodation ONLY

79. How much rent do you pay per week? (exclude rates, garage rents etc.)

80. Does your rent include electricity?

81. Are rooms let to you: furnished (FUR), partly furnished (PF) or unfurnished (UNF)?

Owned accommodation ONLY

82. Are you sole (SO) or joint (JO) owner?

83. Are these premises on a freehold (FH) or leasehold (LH)?

84. Do you have mortgage repayments? (If Yes) How much per month?

EVERYBODY

85. Have you heard of Housing Societies providing: (1) Cost rent houses or flats? (2) Co-ownership houses or flats.

86. If you have to move again, would you consider applying for accommodation built by a housing society: at Cost rent OR Co-ownership, Cost rent ONLY, Co-ownership ONLY, Not at all.

Rented accommodation NOT living in a Council house or flat.

87. Have you put your name down for a council flat or house? (If Yes) In how many years time do you hope to get it?

EVERYBODY

88. Can you show me in which category your earnings (per week or per month) fall, after deductions but including overtime; bonuses etc? (Earnings of H.O.H.) Including pensions for retired.

PER WEEK			PER MONTH		
£1 - £5	.....		£1 - £30	.....	1
£6 - £10	.....		£31 - £60	.....	2
£11 - £15	.....		£61 - £90	.....	3
£16 - £20	.....		£91 - £120	.....	4
£21 - £25	.....		£121 - £150	.....	5
£26 - £30	.....		£151 - £180	.....	6
over £30	.....		over £180	.....	7
STUDENT			STUDENT		8
ANY OTHER NON EARNER			ANY OTHER NON EARNER		9
REFUSAL			REFUSAL		0

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